00036940

00036940

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 28 December, 2018

1457

THE HISTORY

of the

HELVETIC CONFEDERACY.

in Two Volumes

VOL. II.

See p. 249.

36940

VV a 6

LONDON.

Printed for John Stockdale Piccadilly
by W. Bulmer & Co. Russel Court Cleveland Row St. James's.

MDCCC.

CONTENTS.

BOOK II.

THE PROGRESS, DECLINE, AND DISSOLUTION OF THE CONFEDERACY.

CHAP. III.

The Burgundian War.

Parties concerned in the War. Austria: France: Burgandy: Savoy: Milan: Lorrain. Domestic Transactions previous to the War. Hereditary Union between Austria and the Confederates. Battles of Granson: Morat: Nancy.

CHAP. IV.

The Suabian War.

Previous occurrences. The Mad Society: Friburg and Soleure admitted into the Confederacy. Covenant of Stanz: Treaty with France: Waldmann's Catastrophe. Origin of the Suabian War. Encounters at Luciensteig: Triesen: Hard: Frastenz: Malsfelde: Schwaderloch: Bruderholz: Dornach. Peace.

CHAP. V.

Wars of Milan.

Conquest of Milan by the French. Basle and Shaffhausen admitted into the Confederacy. French Seduction. Matthew Shinner. Hostilities in Italy. Battle of Novarra. Invasion of Burgundy. Appenzel added to the Confederacy. Battle of Marignan. Peace. Battle of Biccoca.

CHAP. VI.

The Reformation.

Causes of the Reformation. Ulric Zwinglius. Revolution at Geneva. Progress of the Reformation. Anabaptists. Synod of Baden. Zwinglius's Dispute with Luther. Dissensions among the Cantons. Hostilities. Battle of Cappel. Death of Zwinglius. Pacification. The Progress of the Reformation retarded. William Farel. Reformation at Geneva. Berne and Friburg acquire the Pays de Vaud. John Calvin.

CHAP. VII.

Sequel of the Reformation.

1. *The Boromean, or Holy League.* The Pope's Nuntio at Berne. Dissensions concerning the Gregorian Calendar. 2. *War of Mulhausen.* 3. *The Scalade of Geneva.* 4. *War of the Valteline.* Factions in the Grison Country. Origin of the Troubles. Massacre in the Valteline. Progress of the Troubles. Treaty of Madrid. Conventions of Milan. Deplorable State of the Country. Treaty of Monçon. Disturbances at Zuric, &c. 5. *Insurrection of the Peasants.* Causes of the Revolt. First Disturbances at Lucern. Appeased. The Peasants of Berne revolt. Joined by those of Lucern. Headed by Leuenberger. Various Negociations. Hostilities. The Insurgents defeated. 6. *Miscellaneous Incidents.* Stocker's Mission in England. Interference in Favour of the Vaudois. The Defensional. The Formula Consensus. Reception of the Hugenots; and the Vaudois. Succession to

French Intell. 7. *War of Tockenburg.* Preparatory Incidents. Hostilities. Negociations. Fresh Troubles. Battle of Villemergen. Attempts of the Tockenburghers. Pacification of Arau; and Baden.

CHAP. VIII.

Statistical View of the Confederacy.

Tables. I. The Cantons. II. The Subject Bailiwicks. III. Confederated States. 1. *Aristocratic Cantons.* Berne. Supreme Council. The Senate. Officers of State. Elections into the Senate; into the Council. Subordinate Boards. The exterior State. The Bailiwicks. Defects. Finances. Ecclesiastical Establishment. Military Establishments. Lucern—Friburg—Soleure. 2. *Aristo-democratic Cantons.* Zurich—Basle—Shaffhausen. 3. *Democratic Cantons.* Uri—Schwitz—Underwalden—Zug—Glaris—Appenzel. 4. *Allies.* The Grison Country. The Valais. Helvetic Diets. Foreign Alliances.

CHAP. IX.

Disturbances at Geneva in the Eighteenth Century.

Constitution anno 1700. 1. Troubles appeased in 1707. Fatio. A short Interval of Tranquillity. Fresh Disturbances. Quelled by Severity. 2. Troubles appeased in 1714. Micheli du Crest. Momentary Triumph of the Democracy. 3. Fresh Disturbances terminated in 1738. 4. Henzi's Conspiracy at Berne. 5. Troubles at Geneva appeased in 1768. 6. Insurrection of the Natives in 1700. 7. Troubles appeased in 1782. 8. Revolution in 1789.

CHAP. X.

Dissolution of the Confederacy.

Origin of the French Revolution. State of Swisserland. Treatment of the Swiss Troops in France. Massacre at the Tuilleries. First Symptoms of Disaffection in the Pays de Vaud. French Armies approach the Frontiers. The Cantons persist in their Neutrality. Successes of the French. The

French bring Charges against the Swiss. Answered. Valteline, &c. torn from the Confederacy. Bonaparte visits Swisserland. Mengaud's Mission. The Vaudese claim the Guarantee of France. Accepted. Berne temporizes. Diet at Aran. Revolution at Basle. The French take the Erguel; and Mulhausen. Revolution at Zurich; at Lucern, Shaffhausen, &c. Conduct of Berne. Aubert's Repulse. Delegates assemble at Berne. Plan of a Constitution. An Armistice. Berne arms. Brune's Ultimatum. A further Truce. Hostilities begun. The Swiss mutiny. Last Day of the Confederacy. Erlach assassinated. Oppressive Conduct of the French. Conduct of the small Cantons. The new Constitution. War against the small Cantons. The Valais, and the Italian Bailiwicks surrender. Rapinat Commissary. Deplorable State of Helvetia. Lavater's Philippic. Zelmer's Remonstrance. Rapinat displaced and reinstated. The Underwalders assailed; and exterminated. The Grisons attacked. Conclusion.

ERRATA.

Page 4, last line,	*for*	Salines,	*read*	Salins.
39, l. 6,	—	Harter,	—	Herter.
61, l. 23,	—	Walleb,	—	Wolleb.
217, l. 25,	—	7,	—	6.
231, l. 21,	—	8,	—	7.
306, margin,	prefix the number,			1.
351, ditto,	*for*	5,	*read*	6.
352, ditto,	—	6,	—	7.
362, ditto,	—	7,	—	8.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

HELVETIC CONFEDERACY.

BOOK II.

THE PROGRESS, DECLINE, AND DISSOLUTION OF THE CONFEDERACY.

CHAP. III.

The Burgundian War.

HAD the Confederates profited by the experience they had so dearly purchased in their late civil contest, they would no doubt have ever firmly and steadily resisted all new offers of foreign connections, and all temptations to further acquisitions; and thus might they have insured to themselves a long interval of peace and domestic happiness. But unmindful of the maxims by which alone this country can prosper, they soon after, emerging from their late imminent dangers, listened to the artful insinuations of designing neighbours, and soon found themselves once more involved in a destructive war, of far greater magnitude than any they had ever waged before; in which, when once they were deeply engaged, the very insti-

CHAP. III.

gators to it deserted them; and which, though it afforded them abundance of laurels, yet gradually, in its event, undermined the national character, which had gained them the admiration of Europe, and to which they owed the inestimable blessing of their independence. A brief review of the dispositions and relative circumstances of the several parties which had a share in the origin and prosecution of this war, will greatly facilitate the account which must now be given of its eventful progress.

Parties concerned in the war. Austria.

The Emperor Frederick, though his hereditary prejudices were far from biassing him in favour of the Confederates, was yet, from his natural inactivity, and more so from the many adversaries he had to contend with in Hungary, Bohemia, and other parts of his extensive dominions, by no means to be considered as a formidable adversary. Not so his cousin Sigismund,[1] whom, after many repulses and delays, the emperor had at length invested with the Tyrol, Alsace, and the other dominions held by his father, and who succeeded to the claims his house still retained to the ample territories it had once possessed in various parts of Helvetia. His rooted antipathy against the Confederates, by whom he thought himself deprived of the fairest part of his inheritance, was far from being extinguished, when, by means of a dispute with Cardinal de Cusa, Bishop of Brixen, he incurred the papal excommunication. The execution of this ecclesiastical sentence being committed to the cantons, they actually seized on, and retained, the
1460. fertile province of Thurgau; and the people of Rapperswyl having, at the same time, raised an insurrection, which the duke had not the power to quell, voluntarily put themselves under

[1] Son of the late Frederick, whom the council of Constance had humbled.

CHAP. III.

protection of the cantons of Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, and Glaris. His necessitous circumstances however, compelled him to contain his resentment; and even early in his reign, he 1457. 1467. saw himself obliged to restore to Zuric the county of Kyburg, the expences of the preceding war, which he had been con- 1452. demned to pay; and soon after to mortgage the town of Winterthur, the last of the possessions of Austria in Helvetia, and afterwards to cede it altogether to the city of Zuric. 1477

Charles the Seventh, King of France, struck with admira- France. tion of the valour displayed by the Confederates at the battle of St. Jacob, embraced an early opportunity of offering an alliance, which was readily accepted by the eight cantons, and ratified at a congress held at Soleure. Its conditions 1453. extended further than mutual *friendship*: and one of the articles stipulated, 'that the inhabitants and subjects of the Swiss cantons should have free ingress and egress throughout the kingdom of France, with full liberty of commerce, and sufficient security for their persons and property.'

On the death of Charles, his son and successor Lewis the 1461. Eleventh, not only renewed the treaty, but sought every op- 1463. portunity of forming a still closer union with a people whose bravery he had personally witnessed, and whose services he sometimes wanted against an aspiring adversary. History has fixed his character as a faithless, suspicious, and turbulent prince, whose designs were the more dangerous, as the means of recourse to were generally of a base and insidious nature. Before his accession, being at variance with his father, he had taken refuge at the court of the Duke of Burgundy: but from establishing a friendly intercourse, or admitting sentiments of gratitude for the kind reception he had there

CHAP. III.

met with, he never ceased, by clandestine machinations, especially by the baneful arts of bribery, to expose him to inextricable difficulties, until he had actually completed his ruin.[2] To him chiefly, if not solely, is to be ascribed the war between the ill fated Burgundian and the Swiss cantons.

Burgundy.

Charles Duke of Burgundy, the most prominent personage in the tragical scene before us, was at one time one of the most powerful and formidable among the princes of christendom. He possessed five dukedoms,[3] eight counties,[4] and four other considerable territories.[5] His pecuniary means were ample, having, besides his ordinary revenues, obtained frequent grants and subsidies from his clergy and states; and having moreover, seized on a large fund which pious Christians had collected and deposited at Auxone for the purpose of a crusade. His immoderate ambition inspired him with the project of extending his dominions from the German ocean to the Mediterranean, and establishing a powerful kingdom in the heart of Europe. With this view, he repeatedly possessed himself of Lorrain, and endeavoured to extend his authority over the ecclesiastical states on the Rhine; but none, he saw, would oppose greater obstacles to his premeditated grandeur than the confederated cantons, the greatest part of which he considered as appendages to his hereditary dominions, and which therefore it appears to have been his prime object to

[2] Charles VII. when he heard that his son had been kindly received at the court of Burgundy observed, 'the Duke of Burgundy does not know the dauphin; he cherishes 'a fox who will one day devour his poultry.'

[3] Burgundy, Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, Gaelders.

[4] Flanders, Artois, Burgundy (since called Franche Comté), Holland, Zealand, Hainault, Namur, and Zutphen.

[5] Friesland, Antwerp, Malines, and Salines.

subdue. His personal courage and spirit of enterprize had early procured him the appellation of *bold* and *audacious*, and his cruelty annexed to these the additional title of *terrific*. He had been early trained to arms, and, till he engaged with the Confederates, had met with no considerable check. Edward the Fourth, King of England, was his brother-in-law. The Duke of Milan, René King of Sicily and Count of Provence, and Jolantha Dowager Duchess and administratrix of Savoy,[6] were his friends; and all of these occasionally became his allies, and either drew out in his favour, or helped to recruit his armies. His love of splendor shone forth in the magnificence of his equipages, his abundance of precious gems, and sumptuous apparel, all which he even took into the field, and which, by the powerful temptations they offered to his enemies, contributed perhaps not a little to his destruction. He was of a middle stature, dark complexion, and commanding aspect; vigilant, inured to all manner of hardships, temperate, and, differing in this from Philip the Good[7] his father, true to his marriage vows. He is the first who, while Count of Charolois, took a body of Swiss into his pay; five hundred of them having been enrolled under one of his generals,[8] and marched to the army which he and other princes, confederated under the name of *the League of the Public Good*, were collecting against France. 1454.

Both Lewis, and his epileptic son Amadeus, Dukes of Savoy, were from the situation of their territories, and the nature of their various claims, inevitably engaged in frequent disputes Savoy.

[6] Her brother, Lewis XI. on receiving her in the year 1746, at Tours, hailed her, '*Madame de Bourgogne, soyez la bien venüe.*'

[7] The Good Philip had no less than fourteen bastards.

[8] The Duke of Calabria.

CHAP. III.

with the Swiss cantons, especially with Berne, chiefly concerning the boundaries of the Pays de Vaud, and the sovereignty of Friburg, till now an Austrian dependence. The burghers of this city, disgusted by the insulting demeanour of Duke Albert, brother to the emperor, who came among them merely to inveigle them into disputes with their neighbours, and finding themselves moreover wholly unprotected by the princes of that house, resolved to accept another sovereign. They hesitated some time between the Duke of Savoy and Berne, but at length preferred the former, on condition of his
1450. paying the sum of fifteen thousand florins to that canton, in consideration of its waving a previous contract, by which it was to share in the sovereignty. The co-burghership between the two cities was upon this occasion renewed and solemnly attested. On the death of Lewis, Duke Amadeus
1465. being too feeble to engage in the complicated duties of government, his consort Jolantha assumed the reins, and retained
1472. them even after his death, her son Philibert being at that time only seven years of age. She was frequently opposed, but at times also supported, by the Counts of Geneva, Romont, and Bresse, the brethren of her late husband. The latter espoused the cause of the French king; but Romont, as well as the duchess, we shall often see taking an active part in favour of the Burgundian, in his wars against the Confederates.

Milan. Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, though he did not openly espouse the cause of Charles, never prevented his subjects from engaging in his service, and considerable bodies of them met with severe repulses in their attempts to penetrate through the Valais in their way to the Burgundian army. He was not however, so inimical to the Confederates, but

CHAP. III.

that, for reasons which have not reached our knowledge, he accepted, and appears even to have solicited, a treaty with the cantons, which, under the name of the *Capitulate of Milan*, provided for the mutual security of the traders and itinerants of each contracting party, and transferred the property of the vale Levina to the canton of Uri, which it has retained even to our days. 1466.

Lorrain.

René, of the house of Vaudemont, had, in the twenty-second year of his age, succeeded, in right of his mother, Jolantha of Anjou,[9] to the duchies of Bar and Lorrain; but was immediately seized, together with his mother, by the audacious Charles, who coveted his dominions. They were indeed soon *released*, at the instance of Lewis the Eleventh, but it was not till after the untimely death of the usurper that René was allowed to retain quiet possession of his hereditary dominions. 1473.

Domestic transactions previous to the war.

Besides the capitulate of Milan, the transfer of the sovereignty of Friburg to the Duke of Savoy, and of Kyburg, Thurgau, Rapperswyl, and Winterthur, to the cantons, few other changes respecting the members of the confederacy took place in the interval between the civil and the Burgundian wars, which may not be here passed over wholly unnoticed. Caspar de Landenberg, Abbot of St. Gallen, in a contest he had with his city, dreading lest its burghers should anticipate a league with the Confederates, and thus obtain an ascendency which might overpower him, resolved to take the lead, and hastily formed an union with Zuric, Lucern, Schwitz, and Glaris, by which he bound himself and all his vassals between the lakes of Constance and Zuric, to afford aid to the Confederates in all their emergencies, within these limits, and 1451.

[9] Sister to Margaret Queen of England.

CHAP. III.

to accept the arbitration of the four cantons in all contests in which the adverse party might appeal to them. The city, three years after, followed his example, and formed a perpetual league with six of the cantons,[10] in which mutual defence was stipulated, though with some limitations on the part of the cantons, and a manifest preference in their favour in case of any difference between the contracting parties.

1452. The country of Appenzel about the same time entered into an alliance with the ancient cantons, Berne only excepted: it has ever since, in all its dangers, faithfully adhered to the confederacy; and sixty years after, it was admitted as the thirteenth canton in the union.

The city of Shaffhausen, which the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria had mortgaged to the house of Austria, had at the time of the council of Constance been resumed by the Emperor Sigismund, and restored to the empire. It was now once more claimed by Duke Sigismund, who even obtained a mandate from the emperor his cousin, for being reinstated in the possession of it. The burghers would probably have submitted, had not the nobles irritated them by anticipated insults, and thereby induced them to solicit an union with the Confederates. Their offer was readily accepted by six of the cantons,[11] and

1454. on the league being proclaimed with great exultation in the city, an Austrian camp, which had already been pitched at their gates, withdrew with some precipitation, lest the Confederates should compel that which they wished might be considered as a voluntary act.

Rudolph Marquis of Hochberg, and Count of Neuchattel,

[10] Zuric, Berne, Lucern, Schwitz, Zug, and Glaris.

[11] Zuric, Berne, Lucern, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris.

about this time, established a co-burghership with the canton of Berne, by which he freed himself from the vassalage of the house of Chalons. During the wars that now impended, he resided chiefly at Berne; but it is somewhat remarkable that, with the approbation of the canton, he actually suffered his son Philip to assume a command in the Burgundian army.

The peace between Austria and the Confederates, received soon after a temporary interruption by the act of Pilgrim de Heudorf, an Austrian nobleman, who retained a secret animosity against the city of Shaffhausen on account of a legal decision, in which he considered himself to have been aggrieved. He seized the burgomaster of the city, and detained him in close confinement until he had paid a ransom of eighteen hundred florins. Henry de Regesheim another of the duke's vassals, about the same time, availed himself of a trifling difference that had arisen in the city of Mulhausen (which had two years before become an ally of Berne and Soleure) to arraign its magistrates before an Austrian bailiff in Alsace, who, on their refusing to obey his summons, proceeded to open acts of hostility. These incidents soon armed the whole Confederacy. A body of seven thousand men collected from all the cantons, and marched into the Sundgau, and the Black Forest, where, after destroying many castles and villages, they sat down before the town of Waldshut, and assailed it with unabated vigour. They were on the point of reducing it, when terms of accommodation were offered by Austria, which being accepted, gave rise to the peace of Waldshut, the conditions of which were, that Austria should reimburse the eighteen hundred florins his vassal had extorted from the burgomaster of Shaffhausen, and indemnify the 1468.

CHAP. III.

Confederates for the expences of the war by the sum of ten thousand florins, to be paid at stated periods, the towns of the Black Forest being made over as securities for the performance of these conditions.

Sigismund could ill brook the repeated injuries he had sustained on the part of the Confederates, and was moreover unable to raise the sums which by the late treaty he had bound himself to disburse. Prompted both by resentment and necessity, he resolved to seek aid of some neighbouring potentate. From his cousin the emperor he had little expectation, knowing his natural apathy, and the many other adversaries he had to contend with; and being moreover conscious that the offence he had given, by the peremptory claim he had made of his father's dominions, had not yet been obliterated. He hence resorted in person to the court of the French king, not doubting, from his conduct in the war of Zuric, but that he would gladly contribute to check the progress of the aspiring Confederates: but the artful Lewis had very different objects in view. Besides the admiration he had conceived of the Swiss, he had determined to cultivate their friendship, in order to oppose them to the Duke of Burgundy, whose actual power, and manifest projects of further aggrandizement, had abundantly alarmed his apprehensions.

Alsace, &c. mortgaged to Burgundy. 1469.

Having failed in this attempt, Sigismund immediately repaired to Arras, where he met the Duke of Burgundy, who, not having yet experienced the dangers of a contest with the Swiss, readily listened to his proposals, and gladly accepted of a mortgage he offered him of the counties of Pfirt, Sundgau, Brisgau, Alsace, and the four forest towns, for the loan of eighty thousand florins, which Charles immediately deposited.

Besides the urgent want he had of this supply, the Austrian moreover, was well aware that the contiguity of these territories to the boundaries of the Swiss would soon bring on dissensions, which he doubted not would end in an open rupture. The Confederates soon perceived the drift of this transaction, and endeavoured to avert the danger, by sending their co-burgher, the Count of Neuchattel, to conciliate the friendship of Charles, and offer a treaty at least of amity, if not of mutual defence. The duke not only rejected the overtures, but sent a governor to his new acquired territories, whom he knew to be an inveterate enemy to the Swiss, and who, he was certain, would soon occasion discontents and raise *commotions*, of which he meant to avail himself.

The Swiss now shewed very little reluctance in accepting a new treaty offered them by the King of France, which was confirmed at Berne, and ratified at Tours on the twentieth of October, and according to which both parties, considering the Duke of Burgundy as a common enemy, solemnly bound themselves to afford him no manner of assistance. This fully answered the purpose of the crafty Lewis, since the pretence thereby afforded, greatly accelerated the steps Charles had long meditated against the Confederates. 1470.

Peter de Hagenbach, the prefect the Duke of Burgundy sent to govern his new territories on the Rhine, soon betrayed a disposition which alarmed both the people of those provinces, and their neighbours. Besides the violences he himself committed, he countenanced all those of others, who frequently detained and plundered travellers, and openly encouraged the inhabitants of the districts contiguous to the territories of

CHAP. III.

Berne and Soleure, to molest their neighbours, and even vindicated the audacity of some who raised Burgundian colours in the bailiwick of Shenkenberg, belonging to Berne. Pilgrim de Heudorf, who continued to harass the people of Shaffhausen, had recently seized near Brisach some Swiss merchants, whom, having stripped them of their effects, he detained in a castle, until they were forcibly released by the burghers of Strasburg, who reprobated such wanton breaches of public faith. This ruffian, the lawless Hagenbach not only tolerated, but even encouraged in his acts of depredations: he moreover publicly declared, that his master meant shortly to attack the Swiss; and insinuated that he had been promised the counties of Lenzburg, Thun, and Nidau, as a reward for his faithful and important services. The duke himself, in fact, declared, through his ambassadors, at a diet held at
1473. Lucern in the month of May, that he had taken Sigismund of Austria under his immediate protection; and that he should uphold him as well as Hagenbach, Heudorf, and the other obnoxious lords, in all their iniquitous proceedings.

Lewis saw with exultation the flames kindling; and while he was making repeated treaties with Charles, neglected no means which might accelerate the explosion. Gold was his best advocate, and he was not sparing of it to the unguarded Confederates. This motive, and the frequent provocations they had experienced, failed not to urge them, chiefly how-
1474. ever at the instigation of Berne, to enter into a third league with Lewis. This treaty was particularly levelled at the Burgundian duke, and contained both offensive and defensive clauses. It regulated the pay of the Swiss, who might be

induced to enter into the service of France: Lewis promised besides to deposit annually at Lyons, the sum of twenty thousand livres, to be distributed among the different cantons; and agreed, that in case the Confederates should be at war with the duke, and the king should not be able to assist them with forces, he would, besides the above subsidy, cause to be paid to them every three months, twenty thousand florins, as long as the said war should last. The Confederates, lastly, engaged, in case of a war, not to make peace with the duke, without comprising the interests of the king; he binding himself reciprocally to the faithful observance of a similar condition.

Notwithstanding this close alliance, the Confederates were *still averse to commence the war, which* Lewis so strenuously endeavoured to foment. Charles having resolved to visit his newly acquired dominions, came with a numerous and splendid retinue to Brisach, and was there met by deputies from Berne, Soleure, and Friburg, who had been instructed to remonstrate against the conduct of Hagenbach, Heudorf, and the other oppressive nobles, whom the duke had taken under his immediate protection; to remind him of the friendly intercourse that had long subsisted between them and the sovereigns of Burgundy; and to request proper redress, and a return of confidence and friendship: but their remonstrances made no impression upon the obdurate prince. He received the deputies with austere reserve; would not suffer them to address him but on their knees; and dismissed them at Dijon (whither they had followed him, in hopes of softening him by their obsequious perseverance) without deigning to give them any

CHAP. III.

answer.[12] Lewis now conceived a project which, not many years before, would have been deemed preposterous, if not impracticable. He caused a proposal to be made for an alliance between Austria and the cantons: he was probably apprized that Sigismund, who had severely felt the power of the Confederates, would be glad by such a compact to secure the remainder of his dominions against all dangers from that quarter; and on the other hand, he had just reason to expect that the cantons would readily accede, in order to establish a quiet possession of the territories they had wrested from Austria, and for which they had been incessantly struggling for upwards of half a century. He had moreover fair hopes that Sigismund, having nothing to fear on the part of Helvetia, would instantly resume his mortgage of the counties on the Rhine, which Charles he knew would be unwilling to surrender; and thus he had no doubt but that he should eventually excite an additional and very unexpected enemy to his formidable adversary. Through his contrivance, and a proper application of pecuniary inducements, a congress actually met at Constance, where Sigismund attending in person, met the plenipotentiaries of King Lewis, the Count Palatine, the Margrave of Baden, the Bishops of Strasburg and Basle, the magistrates or deputies of the cantons, and those of the principal cities in Alsace and along the Rhine, which latter had now formed an union since known by the name of the *Lower League*.[13] The first object here was the alliance be-

[12] On this, or perhaps some other occasion, the Swiss deputies assured the duke that the whole riches of their country did not exceed in value the bridles and stirrups of his cavalry.

[13] Strasburg, Basle, Colmar, Shlestad, Monbilliard, &c.

CHAP. III.

Hereditary Union between Austria and the Confederates.

tween Austria and the Confederates, which, under the name of the *Hereditary Union*, was speedily drawn up, accepted, and finally ratified, or rather guaranteed, by King Lewis, at Senlis, on the eleventh of June. Its conditions extended to mutual defence and freedom of intercourse, and likewise the amicable adjustment of any difference that might arise between the parties. Another, and likewise a defensive treaty, was at the same time entered into at this congress, between Duke Sigismund, the Helvetic Confederacy, and the cities of the lower league, the chief object of which was to restrain the outrages still daily practised by Hagenbach and his odious accomplices. Thus by one of those singular combinations of events in which history abounds, did the very same people, which had stripped the house of Austria of all its hereditary territories in Helvetia, join now in an engagement to protect that very house, in the possession of dominions which it had recently mortgaged for the means of carrying on a war against themselves.

The cities of Strasburg and Basle having advanced the sums required, for the repayment of which Lewis made himself responsible, Sigismund deposited at Basle the eighty thousand florins lent him by the Duke of Burgundy, apprising him at the same time, that he should now resume the mortgaged provinces, and that he meant immediately to enter into the possession of them. Charles, as King Lewis expected, rejected the offer with disdain, pretending, among other evasive pleas, that the loan was to be refunded at Besançon, and not at Basle.

Hagenbach in the mean time, whether instructed, or elated by the favour and countenance he had experienced from his master during his late visit, had laid aside all moderation, and

CHAP. III.

even the very semblance of justice. He insulted the cities of Basle and Strasburg, over which he had no legal jurisdiction, and threatened to send them Burgundian garrisons. The people of Mulhausen, who were in close alliance with the Confederates, he harassed by every species of insult he could devise; he introduced into his towns bodies of Flemish mercenaries, who committed all manner of outrage; he even, in the wantonness of unlimited power, abridged the nobles of their privileges; and thus uniting all ranks against him, brought on his own ruin, and prepared that of his master, who may well be held up as a warning to princes who think they may with impunity sport with the feelings of their people.

The atrocious governor however, soon perceived that a storm was gathering, and with a view to insure a strong retreat, threw himself, with four hundred of his hirelings, into the town of Brisach, which he ordered to be secured by strong fortifications. In this he found himself obstructed by the inhabitants, who moreover, conceiving themselves no longer amenable to his authority, seized his person in the name of their rightful sovereign, and cast him into a dungeon. Sigismund was no sooner apprized of this decisive measure than he repaired to Brisach, and received the joyful homage of his former subjects. Here a message was also brought him from Duke Charles, upbraiding him with a breach of faith, and denouncing vengeance in case he should dare to proceed to extremities with his confidential servant. Sigismund however, equally regardless of his reproofs and menaces, proceeded to appoint a tribunal for the trial of the execrated tyrant, to which, in order to involve other states besides himself in the

event, he invited magistrates from the cities of the lower league, and more particularly from the confederate cantons. Hagenbach was arraigned in the morning of the ninth of May. Some charges of oppression he answered, by adducing the express orders of the duke his master; others he extenuated by alleging the provocations that had compelled him to use severity; and those of rapes and wantonness he retorted upon his judges, asserting that he had done no more than they themselves daily practised, adding, that as to the former imputation he had never found it necessary to use violence. His trial lasted the whole day: in the evening he received sentence of death; and was beheaded in the night, by torch-light.

Charles fired with indignation at this proceeding: yet, having greater projects in view than merely that of avenging the death of an obnoxious minion, he checked his passion, and even sent to the Swiss a conciliatory message, representing to them the impolicy of their preferring a new ally, such as the house of Austria, which had for centuries been their relentless foe, to an ancient friend and confederate like himself; reminding them of the good understanding that had so long subsisted between them and himself as well as his ancestors; intimating how hostile the King of France, while dauphin, had been towards them in their civil war; and assuring them, that he had always been ready to restore the mortgaged territories, had Sigismund fulfilled the conditions of the contract; and that as to any misconduct of Hagenbach, he would have given ample satisfaction, had an appeal been made to his justice. The Swiss however, recollected the treatment of their deputies at Brisach, and paid no regard to these specious professions, which they considered as mere pre-

CHAP. III.

tences, in order to gain time for hostile preparations. Charles could not so wholly suppress his resentment, but that he seized on the person of Henry Count of Wurtemberg, who had been accessary to the death of his favourite; and summoned his town of Monbelliard, which however prepared for a vigorous resistance. The Berners seeing their own peril in the danger that menaced this neighbouring city, which they considered as a key to their own country, declared that they took it under their immediate protection; and in this they were followed by the rest of the cantons.

Charles was now at open war with Lewis; but having prevailed upon Edward the Fourth of England to take an active part in the contest, and even to invade the kingdom of France, he found himself at full liberty to pursue the favourite plan he had for some time had in contemplation, of extending his dominions on the side of the empire. One of the previous steps towards the attainment of this object, he conceived to be the securing an ascendency over the ecclesiastical states on the Rhine; and with this view he sent to Cologne to demand the advocacy of that metropolitan see, being supported in his claim by the concurrence of the archbishop,[14] who was then at variance with his chapter. Having however received a formal refusal, he advanced from Maestricht with an army of sixty thousand men, and besieged the town of Nuys, not doubting that the reduction of that adjacent fortress would intimidate the chapter into compliance. Charles, it must be owned, betrayed in the whole of this transaction a want of sagacity unworthy of his other great talents, since it appears manifest that had he at that time, or even after he raised the

[14] Rupert Count Palatine.

siege of Nuys, joined his forces to those of Edward, he would infallibly have overpowered an enemy, who in the sequel proved the chief cause of his disasters; whereas by admitting a prolongation of the war between England and France, opportunities were afforded to Lewis to apply his usual and most effective weapon, which the English courtiers knew not how to resist. A proper distribution of gold soon freed him from an invader, who had espoused the cause with little alacrity, and was ill prepared to maintain it through a period of any length.

The siege of Nuys, which detained the duke a whole year, and the instigations and fair promises of King Lewis, who gave hopes of ample supplies, which he never meant to accomplish, drew out the emperor against the Burgundian: but Charles knowing the want of energy of that monarch, and the many impediments that cramped his operations, was by no means diverted by this new semblance of resistance from prosecuting his favourite design. He resolved upon a diversion against the cities of the lower league, and sent the Count de Blamont with a body of six thousand cavalry into the Sundgau, where, after ravaging the open country, they took, pillaged, and burnt, upwards of thirty villages, and returned into Upper Burgundy loaded with spoils extorted from innocent victims. This near approach of hostile arms at length afforded matter of serious consideration to the Confederates: they held a meeting at Lucern, and were there met by the representatives of the Emperor, the King of France, the Duke of Austria, various neighbouring princes and prelates, and the cities of the lower league. All these urged abundance of persuasive arguments to impel the Confederates to a declaration

CHAP. III.

of war, forcibly pointing out the danger of delay when an attack was manifestly intended, and strongly insisting upon the certainty of success, when so many powerful and steady allies co-operated. At length, overcome by persuasions, and stunned as it were by importunities and fair promises, they on the twenty-seventh of October, still however with reluctance, drew up their declaration, and sent it to the Count de Blamont, who conveyed it to the duke at his camp before Nuys. Charles received it with disdain. After a long pause, his rage preventing his utterance, he at length, being well apprized which of the cantons had chiefly contributed to this bold resolve, exclaimed, 'oh, Berne, Berne!' and shewed symptoms of resentment which struck all around him with terror.

War declared.

The Berners now took the field with their allies of Friburg, Soleure, and Bienne, and invested Hericourt, one of the mortgaged towns near Monbelliard, which Charles had granted to Thibaud of Neuchattel, then marshal of Burgundy. Here they were joined by the rest of the cantons, Underwalden only excepted, which, having still some points in dispute with the Duke of Austria, refused to participate in this war. Notwithstanding an attempt made by a strong body of Burgundians to relieve the town, it surrendered after a siege of fourteen days, and was restored to the Duke of Austria.

1475. A body of Berners, with some men of Lucern and Soleure, early in the succeeding month of February, forced their way through the Jura, and took possession of Pontarlier in Upper Burgundy. They here repelled an attack of a much superior force of Burgundians; burnt the town and castle; and returned into the Pays de Vaud, where the Count of Romont had

collected forces, and with the concurrence of Jolantha of Savoy, his sister-in-law, and of two Counts of Chalons, who had engaged in the service of Charles, had commenced open hostilities against the Confederates. Among the several towns which they took,[1] none made so vigorous a resistance as Orbe, the garrison of which, consisting chiefly of nobles, after burning the town, when they found they could no longer defend it, retired into the castle. This strong post the Confederates immediately stormed, and having entered it, cast many of the lords over the battlements into the burning ruins, and put the remainder to the sword. In a subsequent inroad into this country, the Confederates marched as far as Lausanne, which they laid under contribution; and threatened the city of Geneva, which warded off the blow by agreeing to pay a ransom of twenty-six thousand florins.

Charles meanwhile, having the emperor with an army of eighty thousand men, and, by the retreat of King Edward, the whole force of the French monarch in the field against him; having moreover the Duke of Lorrain to contend with, who, under pretence of a breach of promise, but chiefly at the instigation of Lewis, had made an inroad into the dutchy of Luxemburg; seeing likewise the dangers to which his frontiers towards Swisserland were exposed, thought it high time to free himself from some of the numerous enemies that now surrounded him. He found the least difficulty with the emperor, who was never earnest in the cause. A truce was concluded by the mediation of the pope's legate, on the twenty-fifth of May, by which Frederick engaged to abandon the grand alliance, and the duke agreed to raise the siege of Nuys,

[1] Granson, Orbe, Montagny, Echallens; all belonging to the Counts of Chalons.

CHAP. III.

and to forsake the cause of the Archbishop of Cologne, whom he had engaged to support in his contest with his chapter.

The proud Charles condescended now also to demand an armistice from the French monarch. Nothing had ever gratified Lewis so much as the intelligence of the attacks made upon Burgundy by the Confederates. He saw now the prospect of a speedy completion of his deep laid project; and, having purchased a peace with Edward, he thought he might safely rely upon the Swiss for the final destruction of his rival, without involving himself in the dangers of the bloody war, which he well knew must precede that wished for event. He readily accepted the offer of Charles, and, forgetting altogether his solemn engagement with the cantons not *to enter* into any treaty with the duke without *their participation*, concluded a nine years truce, which was ratified at Soleuvre on the thirteenth of September. The crafty monarch knowing that Charles meant now to direct his whole power against the Swiss, expressed his surprise that he had not demanded a longer term, 'for,' said he, 'the duke is little aware what people he 'is going to contend with, nor what a rod he has prepared for 'his own back.'

Sigismund, though he did not formally renounce the grand alliance, yet, by the defection of the emperor his cousin, was deprived not only of the means, but also of the inclination to co-operate effectually in promoting the purposes for which it had been formed; and thus, when the Confederates saw the whole power of Burgundy coming forth against them, they looked round them, and found themselves wholly deserted by all the allies (the lower league only excepted) at whose instigation they had exposed themselves to the threatening storm.

No comment is here necessary. The facts themselves will suggest abundance of reflections, which have been amply expatiated upon by all the Swiss historians. Little indeed can be said in extenuation of these instances of perfidy in men who are deemed the fountain of honour: but it must be owned that we do not read of many kings like Lewis the Eleventh.

Charles having thus freed himself from what he considered the most powerful of his antagonists, began his schemes of vengeance against the Duke of Lorrain, the first victim of Lewis's treachery. In a short space of time he over-ran the whole dutchy; attacked and took Nancy, into which, on the thirtieth of November, he made a triumphant entry; and obliged the hapless René to seek his personal safety by flight. During the progress of this conquest, Charles took the town of Brie, in which he found two hundred and fifty Swiss, whom, contrary to the terms of the capitulation, he caused to be hanged under its walls. In the month of January, he repaired to Besançon, where he immediately made preparations for the formidable attack he meditated against the Confederates. 1476.

Charles was too impatient to wait for the return of spring. He quitted Besançon on the sixth of February; and on the twelfth appeared before Orbe, and spread a numerous host all over the adjacent country. The Confederates lost no time in assembling their forces. They met from all quarters: Berne and Friburg sent garrisons to Iverdun and Granson; but finding that the former post could not be maintained, they removed their men to Granson, where preparations were made for a very vigorous defence. The duke led his army [16] before this place on

[16] Historians differ widely concerning the numbers of this army; some make it amount to 100,000; none make it less than 50,000.

CHAP. III.

the nineteenth, and established his magnificent camp on the acclivities around it. On the twenty-fifth he carried the town by storm, but had not as yet made any impression upon the castle. The Confederates, under Nicholas de Sharnachthal and John de Hallwyl, were encamped at Morat, and were waiting for additional reinforcements before they would venture to relieve the place, which they well knew might hold out some time longer. Charles, exasperated at the delay opposed to his progress by so insignificant an obstacle, had recourse to treachery. He sent into the garrison an emissary, to acquaint them that the Confederates were in the utmost discord, that the Burgundians had taken and burnt Friburg, and that Berne was on the point of sharing the same fate; and likewise to admonish them to accept of their free dismissal, which the duke was willing to allow them, if they would immediately surrender. The garrison hinted at the example of Brie; but the emissary vindicated his master by specious pretences, and solemn asseverations, and positively declared that no harm should befall them, if they reposed full confidence in the duke's honour and magnanimity.

Thus influenced they surrendered, and marched out on the twenty-seventh of February: but scarce had they passed the gates when they were seized, bound, and led through the camp among the scoffs and insults of the whole army. On the next morning four hundred and fifty of them were hanged on the trees round the town; and on the succeeding day, one hundred and fifty more, being the remainder of this devoted band, were carried out in boats, and sunk in the lake. This atrocious deed, whilst it drew upon the perfidious duke the execration of his foes, did by no means add to the love of those who were willing to befriend him.

CHAP. III.

Battle of Granson.

The Swiss army, meanwhile, which now consisted of near twenty thousand men, had marched round the lake to Neuchattel, and on Saturday the third of March, arrived at Vaumarcus, where they began skirmishing with the Burgundian out-posts, and encountered a battery which they could not silence. The report of the artillery brought the duke instantly out of his intrenched camp. His van, consisting of ten thousand Lombards and Savoyards, was led by Anthony and Baldwin, two bastards of Burgundy, and the Prince of Orange; he headed the main body himself; and the rear he entrusted to John Duke of Cleves. The ground was very uneven, and so intersected by torrents and ravines, as wholly to preclude the use of heavy cannon. The banners of Schwitz and Thun formed the van of the confederate army, and took an advantageous post on an eminence. They were soon joined by those of Berne and Friburg. As they approached the enemy, they, according to their usual practice, fell on their knees to implore a blessing from on high. The Burgundians, imagining this detachment to be the whole of the army, mistook their act of devotion for an offer of surrender. Their first attack discovered their error; they were repulsed with loss; and their leaders, perceiving how unfavourable the spot was for military evolutions, ordered their ranks to retreat, in order to allure the Confederates to a more advantageous ground. At this instant came forward more of the confederate banners, and the feigned retreat of the Burgundians was soon converted into a real flight; they fell back upon their main body, and threw it into the utmost confusion. The duke flew among the disordered ranks, exclaiming that the retreat of the van was a mere stratagem, and used every effort to restore order and confi-

CHAP. III.

dence; but all in vain: more of the Swiss banners came in sight, and a general trepidation seized the whole: they gave way on all sides; and not even trusting to the security their strong camp might have afforded, fled in all directions.

Thus did the Confederates, in a few hours, and with the loss of only fifty men, obtain a complete victory; and, the whole Burgundian camp having fallen into their hands, they acquired a booty of which there is scarce an instance in history. Here they found abundance of ammunition and provisions; one hundred and twenty pieces of ordnance,[17] most of them culverines; four hundred magnificent tents, some of silk lined with velvet, and embroidered with gold and pearls; six hundred richly decorated flags. In the duke's tent they found *the largest* diamond at that time known to exist;[18] a precious jewel called the three brethren; a sword set with seven great diamonds, seven rubies, and fifty pearls; his plate, said to have been upwards of four hundred pounds in weight; great stores of rich carpets and tapestry; his golden seal, and the whole of his

[17] Lauffer mentions 420; but this number appears highly improbable.

[18] Watteville traces the progress of this diamond through various hands, from Will. de Diesbach, who he says bought it in 1492 for 5000 florins, to those of the Duke of Milan, who sold it to Pope Julius II. by whom and his successors it has ever after been worn as the chief ornament of the papal crown. Du Fresnoy, the editor of the Mem. of Phil. de Comines, positively asserts that it is the well known *Sancy*, the second diamond in the crown of the French king. And Meister, in his Hauptszenen, vol. i. p. 89, mentions a MSc. of Joh. Jac. Fugger, in the Electoral Library of Bavaria, in which the writer says, that this diamond, together with other precious gems, had been purchased by one of his ancestors; and that, coming to him by inheritance, he had sold it to Henry VIII. King of England; and that Philip, husband to Queen Mary, had taken it with him to Spain; so that it has in fact returned to the descendants of Duke Charles. The pains that have been taken to ascertain which of these accounts is true have hitherto proved ineffectual.

chancery. The nobles, who vied with each other in sumptuous attire and equipage, lost all their effects; nor could the many merchants, and upwards of three thousand women, who attended the camp, save any of their property. The loss in men did not exceed two thousand, but it would have been greater had the Swiss had any cavalry.[19] The duke estimated his own loss at one million of florins, and the whole booty is said to have amounted to thrice that value. But the greatest loss of all was the loss of reputation. The name of Charles no no longer struck terror around him: his allies became lukewarm: the Duke of Milan and the King of Sicily, the latter of whom had made a will in favour of Charles, publicly deserted him: even Jolantha wavered in her fidelity, and suffered her brother-in-law, the Count of Bresse, to seize on twenty thousand crowns which Charles had entrusted to one of his nobles for the purpose of levying recruits in Savoy and the neighbouring provinces.

The triumph of the Swiss suffered no small abatement when they approached Granson and saw the suspended bodies of their friends and countrymen, and those which had been thrown up lifeless on the shore. They collected their lamentable remains, and, with mournful obsequies, committed them to the earth in the cemetery of the unshod Carmelites. The

[19] Phil. de Comines pretends that the duke lost only seven men; but this is not the only instance of his want of accuracy. He expatiates on the gross simplicity of the Swiss in estimating the value of their booty. The plate, he says, they sold for pewter; a rich embroidered tent they cut and portioned out in small pieces; the soldier who found the great diamond tossed it about as a thing of no value, and at length sold it to a priest for one florin, who afterwards parted with it for three livres. Happy, had this people always continued in such an ignorance of the fictitious value of objects that confer no real distinction.

CHAP. III.

castle was immediately reduced, and the Burgundians who were found in it were hung on the same trees, and by the same halters that had been fatal to their too credulous countrymen. The captain and some nobles they spared, and exchanged them with the few prisoners the duke had made in the early part of this unfortunate expedition. Having as usual remained three days on the field of battle, the greatest part chose to return to their homes, to receive the congratulations of their friends, and to exhibit the rich spoils a few hours of well-timed intrepidity had procured them.

Charles after the battle fled to Joigni on Mount Jura, and thence to Nozeroy in Upper Burgundy, where those around him saw him stung with shame, and so torn with vindictive rage, as to shew evident marks of delirium, which, a contemporary author says, never after forsook him.[20] Here, however, he remained not long inactive; but, eagerly bent on revenge, he resolved to make every effort to retrieve his lost power and reputation. He sent an obsequious message to the King of France to request his further observance of the truce. Lewis, who had removed to Lyons, in order to be near the scene of action, and had received the intelligence of the victory of Granson with public marks of exultation, knew that, if suffered to proceed, Charles would not desist from his vain attempts against the Swiss, until reduced to utter ruin. He hence solemnly promised to adhere faithfully to his engagement; while at the same time, to prevent the Confederates from listening to any offers of accommodation, he sent them private

[20] 'A bien dire la verité, je croy que jamais depuis il n'eut l'entendement si bon qu'il avoit eu auparavant cette bataille.' Phil. de Comines, l. v. c. 3.

but false assurances, that he meant to make a powerful diversion in their favour.

On the fourteenth of May, Charles had already assembled an army of sixty thousand men at Lausanne, near one half of which had been raised in Lombardy, Savoy, and Provence, and was even joined by a body of English adventurers: he collected all the metal that could be found, and caused one hundred and fifty cannon to be cast. Under the influence of such an army the Count of Romont found it an easy matter to recover most of the places in the Pays de Vaud, which the Confederates had taken from him and the nobles in alliance with him. Charles moreover promised to put him in possession of the city of Berne: he also engaged to deliver Friburg to the dutchess, and portioned out among his nobility all the valuable domains he was confident of wresting from the Confederates. These Confederates meanwhile held a diet at Lucern, on the fifteenth of the month, in which they made various necessary arrangements for their defence. One thousand foot, with some horse, were sent to Friburg, one thousand to Granson, and fifteen hundred to Morat, under the conduct of Adrian de Bubenberg of Berne, a veteran knight and experienced commander. This town being the key to their country, the Berners amply supplied it with every means of defence. Bubenberg encouraged his men by pointing out to them the ample provision that had been made for their safety; but he strictly ordered every one of his men, if he should observe the least symptom of fear in another, to stab him without mercy or delay; and not to spare even him, should he give the least cause to suspect his firmness.

Duke Charles began his march with the main part of his

CHAP. III.

army,[21] on the twenty-seventh of May, and on the tenth of June arrived near Morat. On the following day he invested the town, and so effectually surrounded it, as to leave no outlet except on the side of the lake, where, having no vessels, he could not complete the blockade. Bubenberg no ways dismayed at the approach of so formidable a host, repelled the first assailants, and took some prisoners, from whom he collected the intentions of the duke. These he communicated to the council at Berne, and desired that no hasty steps should be taken for his relief, since he was certain that he could prolong the siege till all the Confederates were met, and a sufficient force had assembled to insure a victory. Berne sent immediately between five and six thousand men to secure the passes at Gumminen, and over the Sense; and by a general alarm called together the whole force of the canton.

The duke, in disposing his troops round Morat, had stationed the Count of Romont with eight thousand men on the north side, to guard the avenues from Berne and Arberg: Anthony, one of the bastards of Burgundy, with thirty thousand men, immediately surrounded the town, and extended his posts along the lake; whilst he himself, with the remainder of the army, occupied the heights on the left, where, on a prominent spot, he caused a wooden house to be erected, whence he could survey the whole of his array. The artillery soon began to play upon the town with great effect. On the sixth day of the siege the duke, in order to intimidate the garrison, ordered the whole army to parade round the town, with shouts, music, and martial pomp; and towards evening, the whole was

[21] Phil. de Comines says, that this army consisted of only twenty-three thousand effective men, besides cannoneers.

made to approach the walls with scaling ladders, battle axes, and all kinds of hostile weapons, and to attempt a general storm: but such was the reception they met with, that near one thousand of them fell on the spot; and the remainder finding that no impression could be made, desisted from the vain enterprize. The duke next tried the effect of advantageous offers, but Bubenberg answered, that Brie and Granson were still too fresh in the memory of his people to think of a capitulation. The garrison laboured with the greatest alacrity, repaired in the night what had been damaged or destroyed in the day, observed profound silence, that the enemy might form no conjecture of their numbers, and such was their vigilance, that they did not even find it necessary to shut their gates; an appearance of defiance and confidence which not a little daunted the Burgundians.

Battle of Morat.

The Confederates meanwhile met at Ulmiz, on Saturday the twenty-second of June. The thousand men who had been sent to Friburg were recalled, and joined the army. Count Lewis of Oetingen, with four hundred horse, three hundred fusileers, and twelve cannon, came from Strasburg; and Count Oswald de Thierstein with two hundred Austrian horse, from Colmar, and the other towns of the lower league. The Count of Gruyeres brought a body of his hardy mountaineers, and lastly came also with three or four hundred horse, the ejected Duke of Lorraine,[22] to whom some writers have erroneously ascribed the command of the whole army.[23] hTis whole army

[22] Now also driven from the court of Lewis: 'Car,' says Comines, 'quand un 'grand homme a tout perdu le sien, il ennuye le plus souvent ceux qui le soutiennent.'

[23] Even the accurate authors of *l'Art de verifier les Dates* have committed this error; René appears, according to the Swiss historians, to have served as a volunteer.

CHAP. III.

is reported to have consisted of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. It was now resolved in a council of war not to attack the Count of Romont, who was nearest at hand, but to march up immediately to the duke, and give him battle. William Herter commanded in chief. The army was divided into three columns: the first, consisting of the men of Thun, Entlibuch, and those which had been called in from Friburg, led the van, under the tried veteran John de Hallwyl; John Waldman of Zuric headed the main body, which followed close upon the leading column; and Caspar de Hertenstein of Lucern brought up the rear, which was ordered to watch every motion, and afford aid wherever it might be wanted. In this order the columns advanced along the heights, and having come within sight of the enemy's camp, the duke, infatuated by his evil stars, once more drew out of his strong intrenchments, and came to join battle in the open country. He formed his infantry into a large solid square, flanked by his cavalry, and covered in front by a thick hedge. Here the armies observed each other some time in a heavy rain, neither of them finding an advantageous opportunity for venturing an attack: at length, the day being nearly spent, and the duke, conceiving that no action could then take place, ordered his troops to withdraw to their stations in the camp. The Confederates deemed this a favourable moment, and Hallwyl addressing his men, 'Behold,' said he, 'the proud Burgundians, who 'come to tear from us our wives and children, and to seize 'all our property; see how they shun our encounter: re-'member the days of Brie and Granson, and know that there 'is no salvation but in victory: think on the day of Laupen, 'and you will be confident that a small number of brave men

'may easily defeat a numerous host of rapacious enemies. 'Kneel down, bold warriors, and pray to God to favour your just 'cause: with his aid and your tried valour, we shall surely be 'invincible.' During their devotion, the clouds opened and a gleam of sunshine appeared. Hallwyl started from his knees: 'Our prayer is heard,' he cried, 'the sun shines forth to 'witness our heroic deeds.' None have attempted to describe, for none probably could express, the ardour and impetuosity with which this selected band rushed upon the enemy. The quick hedge vanished in an instant, as if torn up by a sudden blast of wind. The duke had pointed eight culverines at them; but their fire had no effect: the Confederates flew up to them, exclaiming, 'Here Brie, here Granson;'[24] seized them, and turned them upon the enemy. They then pushed forward, and attacked the duke's body guards and the English auxiliaries. Here they received a check, but Waldman coming up with a part of the main body, all gave way: most of the guards and the English were slain, and among the latter, also their adventurous commander.[25]

Hertenstein, who led the rear, observing that his assistance would not be wanted in the main action, made a circuitous and hasty march along the heights towards Avenche, and having reached about the midway between Morat and that town, descended towards the borders of the lake. Bubenberg, who attentively watched every movement, and instantly availed him-

[24] *Granson* was the rallying word of the Confederates.

[25] Lauffer calls him Duke of Somerset; but as there appears to have been no duke of that title from Edmund Beaufort, killed at the battle of Tewksbury in 1471, to the creation of Edmund the Third, son to Henry the Seventh, this appellation must be erroneous.

CHAP. III.

self of every favourable incident, sallied forth at this critical moment with six hundred men, and proceeded along the lake. All the Burgundians, who had not already fled, were now hemmed in on every side. Many thousands of those who remained, seeing destruction all around them, rushed into the lake, and only one of these is said to have escaped, his horse having borne him to the opposite shore. The men of Morat came out in boats, and destroyed, like game, all those who kept themselves afloat. The Count of Romont, seeing the fatal event of the day, made a hasty retreat, but fell in with the horse from the Rhenish cities, who cut many of his men to pieces, and seized his baggage. The Confederates, after having pursued the fugitives to near Avenche, returned to the camp, where, though not in such profusion as at Granson, they yet found abundance of booty. Here they thanked God, and tarried three days, after which the greater part of them returned to their homes.

The ill-fated duke, who, after having been stripped of his treasures at Granson, had now also lost the flower of his army, fled towards the Pays de Vaud. On the day after the battle he took some refreshment at Morges,[26] and at night arrived at Gex, where he was hospitably entertained three days by the Dutchess Jolantha. Mistrusting however her sincerity, he hastily withdrew into Burgundy, where he shut himself up in the castle of Riviere near Salins, and remained some weeks absorbed in a deep melancholy, bordering upon despair. The Swiss historians have recorded that twenty-two thousand and sixty-five bodies were buried round the walls of Morat, of

[26] Fourteen leagues from the field of battle.

whom only two hundred and fifty were Confederates.[27] Including therefore those who perished in the lake, the loss of the duke could not be much less than thirty thousand. The charnel house near Morat has, to our days, remained an incontrovertible monument of the magnitude of the havock that was committed in this memorable action. The modest and elegant inscription that was placed on this building, though it could not procure the admiration and forbearance of the boasted restorers of liberty, who here lately destroyed one of its proudest trophies, will yet be ever remembered by all who shall commemorate the glorious events of this day.[28]

The conduct of the Princes of Savoy had throughout this war been so hostile towards the Confederates, that the latter resolved now to take vengeance by seizing on the whole of the Pays de Vaud. Twelve thousand of the conquerors at Morat engaged in this expedition. No town or castle on their way offered the least resistance; and when they arrived before Lausanne, they received deputies from all the other municipalities, even from Geneva and Savoy, offering terms of submission. Lewis the Eleventh however interceded in behalf of his sister, who, by siding with Duke Charles, had by no means counteracted his deep designs; and a congress was agreed upon, for an amicable termination of this contest.

[27] The accounts of the number of dead differ greatly. Phil. de Comines makes them amount to only eight thousand.

[28] Deo Opt. Max.
Caroli inclyti et fortissimi Ducis Burgundiæ,
Exercitus Muratum obsidens
Ab Helvetiis cæsus,
Hoc sui Monumentum reliquit.
M CCCC LXXVII.

CHAP. III.

This congress met at Friburg on the nineteenth of July, and arbitrators were here appointed, who decreed that the Pays de Vaud should remain in the hands of the Confederates, until Savoy should have paid them fifty thousand florins; that Morat, Cudrefin, and Granson should, even after this payment, not be restored, but be for ever appropriated to Berne and Friburg; that Geneva should forthwith discharge the twenty six thousand florins it had on a former occasion engaged to pay to the Confederates; and lastly, that Savoy should indemnify Friburg for the damages it had occasioned to that city, by an immediate payment of twenty-five thousand six hundred florins.

This congress was attended by most of the neighbouring princes, either personally or by their representatives. The Duke of Lorrain came in person, and availed himself of the opportunity to solicit and conjure the Confederates not to desist from their victorious war with Burgundy, until they had reinstated him in his dukedom, urging the necessity of reducing the power of Charles in order to render him inoffensive. The Confederates for various reasons, among which the severity of the season was not the least cogent, at first declined taking any public part in the expedition he recommended; but at length, prompted perhaps by the persuasions of the Admiral of France, who attended in behalf of his master, they consented that, if no further attack were made upon them, they would allow Duke René to raise in their country as many volunteers as might be willing to engage in his cause. Lewis at the same time, pretending that he wished to strengthen the ties of friendship that subsisted between him and the Confederates, and to behold and converse with the heroes who had

immortalized their names at Granson and Morat, requested that they might be sent to him on an embassy. Most of them, with the brave Bubenberg at their head, were accordingly deputed. The king received them at Tours with the greatest marks of honour: he enquired of them all the particulars of the victories they had achieved, which he well knew they were not unwilling to relate: he caressed and extolled them; and dismissed them with splendid donatives to themselves, and ample subsidies to their countrymen.

Charles was now suddenly roused from his gloomy apathy by the news, that Duke René was in full march with a powerful army, in which he numbered eight thousand Confederates, to repossess himself of his hereditary dominions, and that he was actually besieging Nancy. Although unaided by the states of Burgundy, he yet found means to levy a considerable force, part of which he drew even from the further extremity of the kingdom of Naples, and once more appeared in the field. The garrison of Nancy however, being unapprized of any approaching relief, and a body of three hundred English, who made a part of it, having lost their leader,[29] and all confidence in the surviving commanders, surrendered on the seventh of October; and the citizens with great joy and congratulation received their former and legitimate sovereign. Charles meanwhile advanced with hasty steps, but could not arrive sooner than the twenty-second, when he pitched his camp before the city, into which René had thrown a sufficient garrison, having himself repaired to the frontiers of Swisserland, to reinforce his army with fresh levies from that country.

[29] His name is said to have been Cohin or Calopin.

CHAP. III.

1477.

In the first days of the following year he returned with a body of upwards of fifteen thousand men, and resolved to attempt the deliverance of Nancy. Charles was advised to desist voluntarily from the siege, and to wait for the return of spring, but his own impetuous temper, and the insiduous councils of the Condottiere de Campobasso,[30] who commanded the Neapolitans in his army, induced him to reject this salutary advice, and on the morning of the fifth of January (the last day of his eventful life) he marched his army, perishing with cold and hunger, to meet the approaching enemy. He took post about two miles from Nancy, in a hollow near a stream, and placed thirty cannon to defend the only pass through which an attack might be apprehended. His infantry stood in close array, covered at each wing by the cavalry, commanded on the right by the perfidious Campobasso,[31] and on the left by Josse de Lalain. Two Swiss adventurers, who on account of some misdemeanor had been banished their country, and were now serving in the army of Charles, went over, and offered, on condition of being restored to their native privileges, not only to impart to their countrymen the order of battle of the duke, but also to conduct them, along secret

Battle of Nancy.

[30] Du Fresnoy, the Commentator of Phil. de Comines, informs us that the real name of this false traitor was Nicholas Count de Montfort, of a noble family in the kingdom of Naples, from whence he had been banished for having espoused the party of the Princes of Anjou. Duke Charles had early retained him in his service, as through his means he obtained recruits from Italy; but the count appears to have always had a secret understanding with Lewis. The name of Campobasso he derived from an estate in Naples, once his property.

[31] Phil. de Comines intimates that Campobasso went over before the action, but that the Confederates would not receive him, alleging that they cared not to have traitors among them. It has already been suggested that Philip's authority is not always to be relied on.

paths, to the most vulnerable part of his array. This offer, which at Morgarten would probably have been rejected, was now readily accepted: a large body of Duke René's army was led round the fortified pass, through the half frozen stream; and, dividing into two columns, the one commanded by the duke, and the other by the brave William Herter, fell unawares upon the flank and rear of the Burgundians. No sooner did these hear the sound of the Swiss bugle horn, and perceive the intention to surround them, but they crowded still closer, and turned their cannon towards the approaching enemy. They soon found however, that it was impossible for them to use their artillery without evident danger to themselves. The Confederates began the attack with their usual impetuosity, and made a deep impression on the disordered ranks. Charles sent to Lalain to hasten to their relief; but his men seeing the carnage that already overspread the field, betook themselves to flight, and dispersed among the mountains. The duke upon this resolved to engage in person. He rushed among the combatants with the fury of a lion, and slew many with his own hand; but most of his people, especially the cavalry, having now forsaken him, and seeing himself entirely abandoned, he determined to consult his own safety, and rode full speed towards the road that leads to Metz. Being hard pressed by his pursuers, he attempted to leap over a ditch; but his weary horse being unable to clear it, they both fell into the trench, and here Charles met his fate from hands unconscious of the importance of the life they were abridging. After having been some time missing, his body was found among other dead in the ditch, and conveyed to Nancy. His head is said to have been cloven asunder, and

CHAP. III.

he had two other wounds, each of which was mortal. He was interred with solemn pomp at Nancy; but seventy three years after, his remains were transferred to Bruges, to be deposited in the same tomb with those of his daughter Mary. Most of the Burgundian nobility, who had not fallen at Granson or Morat, were here either killed or taken; and a third Burgundian camp became the prey of the victorious enemy.

No sooner was the death of Charles publicly known, but all the neighbouring princes laid claim to different parts of his dominions; and his daughter Mary, then at Ghent, saw herself exposed both to the intrigues of these ungenerous claimants, and the factious spirit of the people among whom she lived; the latter even proceeding so far as to cause her *faithful* servants, the Chancellor Hugonet and *the Lord de Imbercourt*, to be publicly beheaded, because they *favoured* the project of a marriage between her and the dauphin. Urged by her apprehensions, she at length accepted the hand of Maximilian, son to the Emperor Frederick, and by this union conveyed to the house of Austria the richest and most important inheritance that had ever yet fallen to its share.

The states of the county of Burgundy, contiguous to the Helvetic republic, thought it safest, in the present emergency, to throw themselves into the arms of the Confederates, and for this purpose sent to a diet at Lucern, to offer a surrender almost on any terms: but the Confederates possessed still prudence and moderation enough to decline the alluring proposal, deeming the acquisition no less unprofitable than dangerous. They tendered however peace and their protection to that province, on condition of its paying them the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand florins. This sum the people,

after the heavy losses they had sustained during the war, were utterly unable to raise: they therefore borrowed it from the French monarch, and in return voluntarily submitted to his government. Lewis had already taken possession of the dutchy of Burgundy, as a male fief of his crown; and thus, by his artifices and treachery, was a most important addition made to his dominions, the extent of which, before these accessions, had already rendered him sufficiently formidable to all his neighbours.

CHAP. IV.

The Suabian War.

CHAP. IV.

ONE hundred and seventy years had now elapsed since the Helvetic confederacy had sprung up in the field Rutli, during which period the nation presented a memorable example of firmness, intrepidity, justice, and moderation, and maintained an independence which at that time was peculiar to their country. Though involved in many wars, yet their contests being, by the most vigorous exertions, soon brought to a happy conclusion, the people experienced no permanent or considerable interruption to their domestic tranquillity; and confiding in their valour, and the equity of the cause they asserted, they felt a conscious security, which under an arbitrary government can never be experienced; despotic power, though dormant, exerting every instant a baneful influence, and exciting terrors which incessantly alarm even the guiltless, and poison every enjoyment.

The Burgundian war, much as it contributed to the fame of the Confederates, may yet be deemed the first approach towards, or rather the fatal source of the corruption which gradually relaxed the fundamental principles, and ultimately subverted the system to which this nation had been long indebted for much glory, popularity, and happiness. The Helvetic body became now an important link in the chain of European

powers: its alliance was courted with much solicitude and intrigue by the greatest potentates, in whose wars it was often unwarily induced to take an active part: its leaders accepted foreign subsidies in their collective capacities, and considerable pensions and gratuities as individuals. Their youth, enriched by spoil, and estranged from habits of industry, became impatient of domestic tranquillity; and, in open defiance of the most rigid prohibitions of their superiors, went forth into foreign service, mostly in countries eminently polished and corrupted, where they who preserved any remains of their simple manners became objects of ridicule,[1] but most of them gradually adopted the follies and vices which they saw not only tolerated, but even countenanced. With such depraved morals many returned occasionally to their native homes, and displayed examples of wantonness and folly which, though long resisted by a sober-minded people, could not however fail to make some impression, and have in fact gradually sapped the principles essential to the welfare of this country. Ambition and avarice invaded the breasts of many entrusted with the administration of public affairs; and partial emulation and dissensions have seldom, since this period, suffered them to co-operate with zeal and integrity in the measures best calculated for the support of the confederacy.

The candid observer, to whom the contemplation of their former virtues has no doubt endeared this people, may perhaps offer something to soften the harsh outlines of this gloomy picture. He may assert, and with some reason, that the

[1] In France particularly, every instance of rustic simplicity or uncouthness was regularly ascribed to a Swiss; and the dulness of this people had even become universally proverbial.

CHAP. IV.

bulk of the people was not materially tainted by this influx of depravity; that those especially who inhabited the more remote and mountainous regions, where small societies lived unconnected, and afforded few opportunities for luxury, were seldom visited by the wandering mercenaries, and therefore less exposed to the contagion of their perverted manners. He may likewise maintain, and it will probably be granted, that this people, as a nation, has ever, very few instances excepted, maintained its honour, its reputation for fidelity to its engagements, and, to an eminent degree, its fame for intrepidity and martial spirit; that in fact, though surrounded by depravity, and incessantly urged by deceit, perfidy, and corrupt inducements, no nation has still preserved so great a share of primitive virtue and inflexible integrity.[2] But the historian who is chiefly concerned with the actions and characters of the leaders of a people, will be obliged from this time forward to acknowledge that these were often influenced by motives independent of the public good, and that had they not been kept within bounds by the remains of integrity still prevailing among the people, they would often have committed acts of injustice worthy of the most consummate politician. He will be obliged to confess that the history of the confederacy henceforth acquires a different character; and that he must now unravel motives which before were scarcely known,

[2] Such is the sketch of the country lately delineated by Prof. Meiners of Gottingen, in his entertaining Letters on Swisserland, published in the year 1788. This intelligent, accurate, and impartial observer declares, that one of his principal motives for publishing his remarks was to vindicate the Swiss nation from the aspersions that had been unjustly thrown out against them. The facts he has alleged have not been controverted by any writer in whom the public places any degree of confidence.

even among the higher ranks of the people; and which, by slow degrees, have ultimately brought on the dissolution of a polity founded on the purest maxims of wisdom and equity. The political maxim (if a true one) that the downfall of a nation is seldom to be ascribed to the impression of external force, but that its ruin may, in most instances, be traced up to the influence of internal vices, is no where more strongly exemplified than in the history of this country: and though the French rulers may indeed boast of their perfidious practices, they must not however, pretend to a superiority of valour in subduing this unoffending people. Should the malevolent spirit of Lewis the Eleventh be permitted to look on earth, and view the calamities brought on this now helpless nation, chiefly in consequence of its fatal intercourse with France, he would no doubt enjoy another infernal triumph, and exclaim with malicious exultation, "I have brought on this evil."

Previous occurrences.

The first symptoms of licentiousness and insubordination appeared not many weeks after the victory of Nancy, when upwards of seven hundred young adventurers assembled at Zug, assumed the name of the *Mad Society*, and took upon them, in the first instance, to compel the immediate discharge of the sum which Geneva was bound by treaty to pay to the cantons, and which they alleged had been delayed through the corrupt connivance of the chief men of Berne and Friburg. Regardless of the admonitions and censures of their magistrates, they advanced to Berne, obtained a free passage through that city, and proceeded to Friburg, where they were met by two thousand of their erratick companions. Geneva took the alarm, instantly sent to offer terms to this lawless

The Mad Society, 1477.

CHAP. IV.

multitude, and at length prevailed on them to desist from their audacious enterprize, by giving hostages for the punctual payment of the stipulated contribution, and distributing two florins to each of the rovers for the expences incurred by them in this expedition. Many of them soon after, in spite of the strict prohibitions of the magistrates, enlisted in foreign services; and of these several fell victims to intemperance in the most remote parts of Italy: but the greater number, having dissipated the ample share of booty they had obtained in the war, betook themselves to depredations in their own country; insomuch that, the government having taken vigorous measures to restrain the evil, no less than fifteen hundred robbers were, within the space of three months, publicly executed in different parts of the country. Prompted by this and other equally alarming instances of the inefficacy of the existing ordinances towards restraining the unruly spirit of the victorious and lawless bands, now spread throughout the country, the cantons of Berne, Zuric, and Lucern, readily

1478. accepted the offer made them by the cities of Friburg and Soleure, to enter into a closer compact for their mutual defence against all disturbers of the public peace. Schwitz, Uri, and Underwalden, instantly took umbrage at this unexpected measure, and immediately felt the preponderancy this partial union would necessarily give to the municipal over the rural cantons, in all future deliberations on public concerns. Accord-

1481. ingly when, three years after this compact, the two last mentioned cities requested to be added to the Confederacy, alleging that they had as amply contributed towards the late glorious victories as any other part of the nation, the rural cantons solemnly protested against the admission, and great

dissensions must have ensued, had not a venerable individual interposed, and tempered the discordant passions of the irritated litigants.

A diet was held at Stanz; but all parties being equally tenacious, the deputies were about to separate, without any prospect of accommodation, when a priest of the place hastened in the night to a neighbouring solitude, and summoned Nicholas de la Flue, a hermit whose sanctity was acknowledged and revered by the whole country, to repair to the diet and conciliate the jarring dispositions of the stubborn delegates. He came, and the diet on his account vouchsafed another meeting. At his appearance they were all struck with awe, and rose from their seats. He uncovered his hoary head, and said: 'My friends, I come from a deep solitude: I am a stranger 'to the ways of men; but I serve the Lord. You, cities, must 'relinquish your separate league; it is big with mischief. 'You, rural cantons, forget not the services that have been 'rendered you; and reward Friburg and Soleure by freely ad-'mitting them into the Confederacy. I learn with sorrow 'that, instead of thanking God for the victories he has be-'stowed upon you, you are still contending for the division of 'the spoils. Let all territorial acquisitions be proportionably 'distributed among the cantons, and all moveables among the 'individuals, according to the number supplied by each can-'ton. Lastly, let me exhort you to join all your separate 'leagues into one great and intimate union, of which truth 'and friendship shall be the basis and firm support. I have 'nothing to add. God be with you!' His voice was deemed the voice of Heaven. Friburg and Soleure were a few days after admitted the ninth and tenth cantons in the confederacy,

Friburg and Soleure admitted into

CHAP. IV.

the Confederacy.

on condition however, that they should on no account engage in any war, or form any alliances without the consent of the eight ancient cantons; that in case of dissensions they should submit to the award of those cantons; and that if any contest should arise among the said ancient cantons, those cities should observe a strict neutrality.

Covenant of Stanz.

Before the deputies separated, they drew up and sanctioned a covenant, which became a new fundamental law of the confederacy. It ratified all that had been enjoined by the priests ordinance,[3] and the decree of Sempach.[4] All illicit assemblages were here prohibited. Each canton was confirmed in its own peculiar constitution: 'all delinquents,' it was here further decreed, 'shall be punished by the magistrates 'of the place where the trespass has been committed: all ac- 'quisitions, contributions, or spoils, taken in war, shall be 'distributed, the territories proportionably among the eight 'ancient cantons, and the moveables in equal portions to each 'man who shall have served in the war.'

Treaty with France.

Internal tranquillity being thus restored, the Confederates once more directed their attention to foreign concerns. In the month of September they obtained from Lewis the Eleventh a grant of privileges for their countrymen serving in his army, which, as it has proved the basis of several subsequent capitulations, must be here briefly noticed. It stipulates: 'that every 'Confederate, then engaged, or who may thereafter enter in 'the service of France, and who shall marry and settle in the 'kingdom, shall be authorized to purchase and hold all manner 'of real as well as personal property, and to bequeath the same 'to his wife and children, without any hindrance or defalca-

[3] Ao. 1370. See Vol. I. p. 265.

[4] Ao. 1393. See Vol. I. p. 320.

'tion; that they shall be free from all alien duties, or restric-
'tions, as also from all taillage, aids, imposts, or contributions,
'either then or thereafter to be levied, for the maintenance of
'troops, or any other purpose whatever; and lastly, that they
'be exempted from watch and ward in all parts of the king-
'dom.' Lewis was lavish in promises and engagements, but not equally punctual in the performance of them. The subsidies he had assigned to the cantons were always considerably in arrear; and in the course of the ensuing year, a formal deputation was sent by five of the cantons, to solicit the sums due on this account: they however, returned without having completed the object of their mission; nor was it till two years after that Charles the Eighth, the son and successor of Lewis, on renewing the league with some additional clauses in favour of the Confederates, ordered these claims to be satisfied. 1482. 1484.

Waldman's catastrophe.

A tragical incident, which happened soon after at Zuric, while it afforded a memorable instance of the instability of human affairs, might also have served as an early caution against the pernicious tendency of the foreign connections which began now to prevail, and the fatal consequences of a people interfering in the administration of justice. John Waldman, whom we have seen at the head of the main body of the confederate army at Morat,[5] was a native of a small village near Zug, and came in his early youth to Zuric, where, being wholly destitute, he engaged to learn the trade of a tanner. The vigour of his mind, as well as the comeliness of his person however, soon raised him from this lowly condition, and enabled him to distinguish himself in the military career, in the services both of his country and of foreign

[5] See page 32.

CHAP. IV.

princes. He was knighted at the battle of Morat, and since that had risen gradually at Zuric even to the high station of burgomaster. His influence throughout the confederacy became so great, that all foreign kings, princes, and states, who had any object to pursue with the cantons, had recourse to him; and according to the practice now prevalent, secured his interest, and that of his subordinate agents, by ample pensions and gratuities. This unexpected rise, and the support he experienced from abroad, soon produced the effects which so uncommon an aggrandizement seldom fails to operate; great arrogance and pertinacity, and an haughty deportment in the aspiring magistrate; and much envy and malevolence on the part of the ancient families, who bore with impatience the supremacy of one whom they had formerly seen in one of the lowest stations.

Pretences were not long wanting for giving a full scope to the adverse passions which the fortunate burgomaster had excited.

1489. The senate of Zuric, alarmed at the progress luxury had evidently made, since the influx of riches brought from the Burgundian war, had issued various sumptuary decrees, which the more distinguished citizens, and especially their wives and daughters, the clergy, whose morals had yielded to the contagion of the times, and the profligate of all classes, thought oppressive and derogatory. To these were soon after added other regulations concerning the monopoly of salt, the right of hewing timber, and even a prohibition to keep dogs in the farms, because they had in some instances injured the vineyards and molested the game: all which alarmed the lower classes, and the latter particularly the peasantry, and excited them against the burgomaster, to whom all these inno-

vations were gratuitously ascribed. The peasants were the first who openly resisted the execution of the decrees; and when, through the interposition of some of the most discreet among the magistrates, they were nearly pacified, Waldman incautiously revived their indignation, by declaring to them that, being all vassals, or rather predial slaves, purchased by the city, they had no right to arraign the orders of the magistrates, or any ways to impede their execution. Secure in the prevalency and firmness of his power, he repaired with some friends to Baden, to partake of the amusements of that gay city; and there, in his unguarded moments, held a language respecting the affairs of his canton, which even those best inclined in his favour knew not how to justify. His numerous enemies at Zuric did not fail to avail themselves of his absence, and of these indiscretions, to excite an odium against him, which all ranks were now well disposed to admit; and their success was such, that when Waldman, being apprized of the clamours raised against him, returned privately into the city, he found a defection which he was ill prepared to encounter. A general insurrection soon broke out among both the citizens and peasants, which neither the burgomaster, nor several deputies from the confederate states who had been sent on the occasion, knew how to allay.

On the first of April the tribes assembled, and Waldman repaired to each of them separately, and attempted to persuade them of his innocence, and of the necessity of restraining the unruly spirit of the peasantry. His enemies, perceiving that he was gaining ground, suddenly called together the senate, which his office obliged him to attend. Here the deliberations were soon interrupted by a riotous multitude, who demanded the per-

CHAP. IV.

sons of the burgomaster and of some of his adherents. These being delivered to them, the multitude proceeded to depose the senate, and to appoint a new magistracy, which, from its callous severity, was called the *Horny Senate*. Before this tribunal Waldman was charged with various plots against the state, and in particular with a design to surrender the city to the emperor; and though no proof could be adduced of these accusations, yet so much were people's minds prepossessed against him, that orders were given to extort a confession by the torments of the rack. These he firmly bore during three days, without acknowledging any guilt; but whilst his judges were deliberating concerning the sentence, a messenger came hastily, and reported that the emperor had crossed the Rhine, and was in full march towards the city. Waldman's doom was now pronounced: he was led out of the town, and publicly beheaded. He purposed to declare his innocence on the scaffold, but was prevented by the persuasion of his confessor, who it was since suspected had been gained over by his enemies. No sooner had his head been struck off, but the magistrate who attended the execution declared to the assembled multitude, that they need be under no apprehension concerning the imperial forces, there being no truth in the report of an invasion. Many saw now through the malicious artifices which had impelled this distinguished character to his final destruction; and several of his enemies soon after expiated their treachery by capital punishments.

Intrigues of France.

1491.

The differences that had arisen between Charles the Eighth, and Maximilian, King of the Romans, on account of Ann, heiress of Britanny, who had been promised in marriage to the latter, but was partly by artifice, and partly by compul-

sion, obtained by the former, gave rise to numerous and very urgent solicitations on the part of both the sovereigns, for an intimate union with the Confederates. On this occasion was first perceived an uniform and obstinate variance between the municipal and rural cantons; the former, who perhaps had not been sufficiently or punctually subsidised by the French monarch, shewing a marked predilection in favour of Maximilian, while the latter, ever jealous and apprehensive of the encroachments of Austria, to which their local situation particularly exposed them, were at all times willing to favour the interests of France. Both parties however, with a degree of moderation and prudence that could hardly have been expected in their present contentious disposition, refused to grant auxiliaries or levies to either monarch, but offered their mediation towards an amicable accommodation. This was accepted, and a treaty was concluded at Senlis, on the twenty-third of May, by which Charles surrendered to Austria the whole of the county of Burgundy, together with the Artois and Charolois. 1493.

The circumstance which had induced Charles to be so compliant in the conclusion of this treaty, was the expedition he was then meditating for the conquest of Naples. This kingdom he claimed by virtue of a will which Charles, the last titular king of that country of the house of Anjou, had made in favour of his father Lewis the Eleventh, to the detriment of René Duke of Lorrain, the lawful heir in right of his mother Jolantha, the daughter of René, uncle to the testator. Naples was then in the possession of Ferdinand of Arragon, who was favoured by that profligate pontiff Alexander the Sixth, and the city of Florence. Lewis, surnamed the Moor, of the house of

CHAP. IV.

Sforza, who at this time administered the dutchy of Milan in the name of John Galeazzo his nephew, promoted the interest of the French king, from whom he hoped to derive security in the project he had formed of usurping the dominions of his helpless nephew. Lewis was in circumstances of peculiar perplexity and hazard. On the one hand, Lewis Duke of Orleans[6] had a manifest claim to the dutchy of Milan, in right of his grandmother Valentina, the legitimate representative of the house of Visconti, from whom the Sforza's had wrested that dukedom; and on the other, his nephew had espoused Isabella, the daughter of Alphonsus of Arragon King of Naples, who, being a princess of an high and enterprising spirit, was incessantly urging her relations to be the means of investing her consort in the government which his age now entitled him to assume. In this dilemma the artful Lewis, considering the French as the least dangerous party, gave every encouragement to Charles to undertake the Italian expedition, and allowed him to make Genoa, then dependent on Milan, the place of rendezvous for the forces he purposed to collect. To this place numbers of
1494. the Confederates flocked from all parts, and bid defiance to the repeated orders sent them by their magistrates to return to their homes. A diet even sent a formal deputation to demand the dismissal of these contumacious vagrants; but all that Caspar de Stein and his joint delegates could obtain, was a declaration of the French generals, D'Urfé the king's master of the horse, and Antonine de Besse the bailiff of Dijon, that they had done their utmost towards obtaining the discharge of their countrymen; but that the troops being widely scattered along the coast, it was impossible to collect the Con-

[6] Afterwards Lewis the Twelfth.

federates dispersed among them; and that moreover the great confidence the king reposed in them would render it highly improper, if not dangerous, for him to relinquish so essential a part of the forces he had destined for his intended expedition. Charles wrote soon after to the cantons to extenuate the offence, and conciliate their indulgence in favour of the transgressors. The magistrates, having no remedy left, agreed at length, that six thousand of their countrymen should be allowed to remain in the French army. This transaction however, made so unfavourable an impression upon most of the confederate states, that Berne in particular could never after, during the life of Charles, be brought to a cordial agreement with France.

Lewis the Moor succeeded next year in his design upon the dutchy of Milan; his nephew having died, as is generally believed, from the effect of poison, leaving an infant son, whose cause nobody espoused. He soon after, being freed from his apprehensions respecting the Princes of Arragon, deserted the cause of Charles, and joined the great alliance between the Emperor, the Pope, Spain, Venice, and Florence, which soon compelled the French king to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, after having conquered it in a few months. The conduct of the Swiss auxiliaries at the battle of Fornovo, near Parma, where Charles had been assailed and nearly cut off by the allies,[7] and the formidable number and appearance of the fresh levies that were soon after obtained from the cantons, are celebrated by an eye witness in terms that reflect the

[7] 'A Fornoue le roy avoit mis tout son éffort en son avant garde, où pouvoit 'avoir trois cent cinquante hommes d'armes, et trois milles Suisses, qui estoient l'éspé-'rance de l'ost.' Phil. de Comines, l. viii, c. 11.

CHAP. IV.

highest honour on the prowess and discipline of these undaunted warriors.[8]

1495. Maximilian having now succeeded to the empire, and likewise to the dominions of his cousin Sigismund who died without issue, convoked a diet at Worms, which was attended by William de Diesbach, as deputy from Berne. The Confederates were here, and likewise at some provincial diets of their own, called upon, as members of the empire, to supply a body of troops to escort Maximilian on his intended progress to Rome, and likewise to join in a grand league that had been formed for the defence of the Germanic body.[9] These proposals and demands caused many discussions and some animosities. At length however, it was agreed that, whatever contest might break out among its neighbours, the Helvetic body should preserve a strict neutrality; and Berne in particular decreed severe penalties against foreign recruiting emissaries. Not only perfect unanimity was now restored; but a cordial union soon after took place against a common enemy, the last with whom the Confederates have had to contend for their absolute independence.

[8] 'Le nombre des Suisses étoit bien vingt-deux milles. Tant de beaux hommes 'y avoit, que je ne vis jamais si belle compagnie, et me sembloit impossible de les 'avoir sceu descomfire.' Ibid. cap. 17.

[9] This league had been set on foot at Augsburg, in the year 1488, and as it consisted chiefly of the princes, prelates, and cities of the upper part of Germany, was often called the *Suabian League*; and also, because each member bore on his shield the cross, or badge, of St. George, it was as often distinguished by the appellation of the fraternity of *St. George's Shield*. The ostensible motive of this association was the defence of the country against lawless violence and depredations; but the emperor saw moreover in it the additional advantage of a counterpoise to the independent spirit of the Helvetic confederacy. The Swiss viewed it in the same light, and ever considered it with a jealous eye, and observed its motions with great caution and mistrust.

CHAP. IV.

Origin of the Suabian War.

The emperor had, at the diet at Worms, established a court which, under the name of the Imperial Chamber, was to take cognizance of all civil causes relating to the empire. The same diet also ordained certain contributions for the maintenance of this court; and likewise an extraordinary levy of one per cent. upon the income of all the subjects of the empire, towards the expences of a war against the Turks. Maximilian caused these ordinances to be notified to the Confederates assembled at a diet at Zuric, enjoining their obedience as members of the empire: and on this occasion he also renewed his application for a supply of men, and for their accession to the great Germanic league; adding a request that they would join the Duke of Milan as an imperial feudatory, in his contests against France,[10] and agree to a solemn renewal of the hereditary union, to which he laid claim as representative of the late Duke Sigismund. These proposals, which the Confederates would not consider as injunctions, brought on some warm debates at several of their diets; nor could perfect unanimity be ultimately obtained, some of the cantons[11] declaring that their subsisting alliance with France precluded them from entering into any engagement that might be detrimental to that crown, while others[12] agreed to an alliance with the Duke of Milan, but declined all the other points demanded of them. 1496.

The emperor and his advisers, highly incensed at these re-

[10] The crafty Lewis Moro had obtained the investiture of Milan as an imperial fief, by which means he flattered himself to have annulled the titles both of his great nephew, and of the Duke of Orleans.

[11] Zuric, Lucern, Friburg, Soleure, Zug, Glaris, and a part of Underwalden.

[12] Berne, Uri, Schwitz, and the other part of Underwalden.

CHAP. IV.

fusals, resolved now to avail themselves of every opportunity which might afford them the means of disturbing the peace of this refractory people. The pope was easily prevailed upon to excommunicate all those of the Confederates who inclined in favour of France: the imperial chamber was directed to extend the utmost rigor of its jurisdiction over all legal proceedings in the cantons: the Abbot of St. Gallen was cited before an imperial diet: the city of St. Gallen, the Counts of Werdenberg, Sargans,[13] and other nobles, co-burghers of differents cantons, were declared under the ban of the empire: contributions were raised by coercive means; and it appeared as if the monarch, or rather his ministers and delegates (for Maximilian himself seems in general to have preferred moderate and temporizing measures) had so totally forgotten the transactions of the beginning of the preceding century, as to deem such measures not only secure, but even justifiable. The Confederates applied for redress, but were successively referred to different diets, where they obtained some trivial palliatives, but by no means a satisfactory decision. Lewis the
1498. Twelfth having meanwhile succeeded to the crown of France, and assumed the title of Duke of Milan, the emperor, regardless of the impression it might make upon the minds of the people, demanded of the Confederates six thousand men to conduct him to his county of Burgundy; and strictly enjoined them not to listen to any request on the part of the French monarch, for aid towards the conquest he meditated in Lombardy. To the former demand, he received a peremptory refu-

[13] This nobleman not being able to protect his county of Sargans against the insults of the Austrians, had, in the year 1482, sold it to the seven ancient cantons. Berne was, in 1712, admitted into its co-regency.

sal, unless the grievances complained of should be completely remedied: and as to the latter mandate, though most of the cantons, and Berne in particular, gave the most positive orders against their people engaging in the service of France, they could not effectually prevent great numbers, who were eagerly bent on feats of arms, from resorting to the standards under which they had long served with profit and reputation. Berne on all occasions shewed an anxious solicitude to maintain peace; and to this, that no umbrage might be given, it sacrificed not only a fair opportunity that offered of purchasing, at a cheap rate, the city of Neuchattel; but also every clause in its treaty with Milan, that might have caused suspicion to its confederate states.

A trivial incident hastened the rupture, which men of common sagacity saw rapidly advancing. Among repeated insults, reciprocally offered by individuals on or near the frontiers, especially on the side of the Tyrol, the Count of Werdenberg made a rash attempt to seize the person and family of one of the counsellors of the regency of Inspruck, who was at that time at Pfeffers for the benefit of the mineral waters of that place. His purpose was defeated by the abbot of that monastery, who thereby incurred the resentment of the count, and was by him compelled to quit his abbey. The progress of this feud soon involved the superior orders: and the Grison leagues in particular, two of which [14] had the preceding year entered into an alliance with the seven ancient cantons for mutual defence and security, found themselves

[14] The Grey League, and the league of the House of God. The terms of this alliance are to be found in Lauffer, t. vi. p. 252. They do not differ materially from the other treaties between the several members of the Helvetic body.

CHAP. IV.

suddenly attacked, at a time when the regency of Inspruck had agreed to a congress to be held at Feldkirk, in order to accommodate, as they pretended, all differences between the

1499. two countries. The Tyrolese made a sudden inroad into a valley of the Grison country, bordering on the county of Bormio, which derives its name from the abbey of Munster, to the advocacy of which they alleged that their sovereign had a claim. They were however immediately repulsed with the loss of eighteen men, the first who fell in this disastrous war, which in the space of nine months produced eight considerable actions, many skirmishes, and much bloodshed and devastation. The Tyrolese immediately called upon the Suabian league, then assembled at Constance, for its support; while the Grisons, and particularly the people of the abbey of Disentis, sent to their Swiss allies for the aid stipulated by their league. Both parties armed, and the whole of the frontiers from Bormio to Basle were reciprocally put in the best posture of defence.

While negotiations were still carrying on for the intended

Encounters congress at Feldkirk, a large body of the Suabian allies, took by surprise and treachery, the town of Mayenfeld, below Coire, on the Rhine, placed in it a garrison of four hundred men,

at Luciensteig, and occupied the Luciensteig, a strong and important pass between Germany and the Grisons. The Confederates instantly assembled a sufficient force, attacked the Suabians in the pass, killed upwards of four hundred of them, and having on the following day gained another considerable advantage

Triesen, at Triesen, drove the remainder of the enemy's forces over the river Ill. Two days after they retook Mayenfeld, led the garrison prisoners to Coire, and publicly executed some of the

traitors who had surrendered the town to the Suabians. The German allies upon this, being bent on revenge, collected a considerable army at Hard, near Bregenz, on the lake of Constance. The Confederates, being apprized of this numerous assemblage, advanced with hasty marches, and having driven in the advanced posts, came in sight of the camp which the Suabians had fortified with strong intrenchments, and secured with abundance of artillery. The Swiss having, as customary, offered up their prayer to heaven on their knees, which, in like manner as at Granson, was mistaken by the enemy as a supplication for mercy, they rushed up to the batteries, and having passed them, soon came into close combat with, and made such an impression upon the main body, that the Suabian leaders, perceiving the impossibility of making an effectual stand against so furious an attack, ordered a retreat. This retreat however was soon converted into a general rout, in which many were driven into the lake, and suffocated in marshy swamps, where, as well as on the field of battle, upwards of five thousand of the enemy are reported to have perished. The loss of the Confederates was inconsiderable. They took five large pieces of cannon, many arms and accoutrements, several flags; and had the day not been too far advanced, would infallibly have obtained possession of Bregenz. They raised however a contribution in the vicinity, with which, and their ample booty, they returned to their farms and cottages.

Hard.

Notwithstanding the late disaster at Hard, the Suabians and Imperialists did not refrain from repeated endeavours to molest the Confederates on the side of the Tyrol. They collected fresh troops, and occupied a post at Frastenz on the river Ill,

Frastenz.

CHAP. IV.

which both from nature, and the protection of double intrenchments, was deemed impregnable. Their numbers amounted to upwards of ten thousand, both horse and foot. Their project was, by no means to risk a general engagement, but to harass the enemy by constant inroads, and thus terrify them into submission. They in fact came over the Rhine on the same day that Bubenberg triumphed at the Bruderholz,[25] spread among the villages of St. Gallen, Glaris, and even to the confines of Schwitz; and having ravaged the country, returned with ample spoils within their lines. This alarm and devastation instantly called together seven thousand Confederates, who, without delay, crossed the Rhine and offered battle to the rapacious foe. These however declined the challenge, and remained unmoved within their trenches. At length, impatient of further delay and inactivity, the Confederates came to the daring resolution of storming the lines. The Suabians, being apprized of this intention, made proper dispositions for defeating their purpose. They posted three hundred arquebusiers at the edge of a precipice, and in a sconce above them, fifteen hundred men at arms, most of them miners. These were directed to fall on the flank of the assailants in their approach to the intrenchments. On the other hand, Henry Walleb of Uri, took the command of two thousand select men of Urseren and his own canton, and advanced from one of the flanks with a view to turn the mountain, while the main body, it was agreed, should proceed through a wood directly to the camp. Early on the twentieth of April began the march. The detachment of Wolleb climbed up the steep with so much difficulty, that in many places the men were

[25] V. infra. p. 67.

obliged to draw each other up by their halberds. Having come in sight of the arquebusiers, they were received by a brisk discharge of fire-arms; but creeping on all fours till they had reached a proper distance, they rushed upon them with irresistible violence, and drove them back upon the miners, whom they likewise attacked on a sudden, and with equal ardour. Here the conflict became bloody and obstinate, and the event remained long doubtful till, the two first ranks of the enemy being hewn down, the remainder fled towards the intrenchments. These also, before they could reach the lines, fell in with the main body of the Confederates; and all but two hundred, who with much difficulty found means to secrete themselves in the thickest of the wood, fell easy victims to the wrath of the assailants. These having now reached the lines, the discharge of cannon and fire-arms upon them became terrific. They avoided its destructive effects by falling on their faces; but, preparing immediately after for the attack, Wolleb, who with his detachment had now joined the army, called to them to let another discharge pass over them in their prostrate position, and then to advance with speed. They obeyed, but he, continuing alone erect in order to give further directions, received a mortal wound. He gathered all his strength, made the necessary dispositions for the charge, and then expired, rejoicing at the victory he was now certain would be achieved by his countrymen. The Confederates, exasperated at the irreparable loss they had sustained, flew up to the breast-work before the enemy could prepare for another fire. Nothing could resist the furious blows they dealt out with their long spears, broad swords, and massy battle-axes; and the Suabians, unable to sustain so unexpected an assault, took

CHAP. IV.

to a hasty flight, many perishing in their speed down the headlong precipices, and still more in the river Ill, beyond which they had hoped to find security. Three thousand of the Suabians are said to have perished in the field, and thirteen hundred in the river. It is scarce credible, what the chronicles affirm, that this victory was gained with the loss of only thirteen men. Five flags, ten heavy cannon, and abundance of fire-arms and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors, who, after resting, as was customary with them, three days on the field of battle, returned each to his peaceful dwelling.

This fourth discomfiture did not deter the Tyrolese from fresh attempts to wreak their vengeance on their detested neighbours. They again collected eight thousand men, and stationed them behind strong intrenchments on Mount Shlingenberg, near the confines of the Grisons. Hence they made an incursion into the Engadine, where, after spreading fire and desolation, they took three and thirty hostages for the payment of large contributions, and led them to the town of Meran, where they retained them in close confinement. The Grisons, bent on revenge, assembled, nine thousand in number, and came on the tenth of May, at midnight, to the foot of the mountain, where they divided into two columns, one of which marched round to take the enemy in the rear, while the other advanced in front. They jointly, and with their usual speed, ascended the mountain, cut off all the centries and out-posts they met on their way, and having, at daybreak, reached the camp, assailed it furiously on every side. The enemy, during four hours, made a fierce and stubborn defence; but the column that attacked in front, having forced the intrenchment, a general rout took place, and they

Malsheide.

fled in all directions, but most of them towards a bridge at Glurens, on the Adige. The great numbers who attempted to crowd over this bridge broke it down, and some hundreds perished in the river. About one half of the Tyrolese fell in this bloody conflict. The Grisons had two hundred and twenty-five men killed, and about seven hundred wounded. They took the great banner of the Tyrol, six flags, eight large pieces of cannon, and four hundred arquebusses. The town of Glurens, seven villages, and among them that of Mals, from which this battle took its name,[16] were reduced to ashes. Many of the fugitives bent their course towards Meran, where they demanded the three and thirty Grison hostages, and barbarously cut them to pieces before the town. The Tyrol at this time was in such a deplorable state of desolation, that an imperial officer,[17] who was conducting a detachment through the country, among many scenes of misery and horror, saw two old women driving some hundreds of half-naked and emaciated children before them, who on arriving at a field less wasted than the remainder of the country, threw themselves down and browsed the grass like cattle. He was told that most of them were orphans, whose fathers had been killed, and mothers starved; and that they had for some time had no other nourishment: the old women added, that many of them perished daily; and that shortly they must all, the children as well as themselves, fall miserable victims to hunger and disease.

Among the numerous bodies of Germans which had been stationed along the confines of Swisserland, none was more

[16] Malsheide, i. e. Mals-heath.

[17] Bilibaldus Pirckhaymerus of Nuremberg, who has written the history of this disastrous war. Bell. Suitens. in Opp. p. 82. Edit. 1610.

CHAP. IV.

formidable than that which had been collected at Constance. The cantons, in consequence of this powerful armament, lost no time in occupying and securing a strong pass in an adjacent wood called the Schwaderloch. The Germans having, in addition to their former numbers, received considerable reinforcements, ventured upon an attack, in which, having dispersed all the advanced posts of the Confederates, they proceeded to burn all the neighbouring villages; and resting secure in the protection of their artillery, which they had pointed at the intrenchments in the pass, spread widely over the open country, committing all manner of outrages and cruelty. The Confederates, who were apprized of the disorder that prevailed among the enemy's troops, formed their array behind the wood, and by a circuitous march, in order to avoid the effect of their cannon, appeared on a sudden, and made considerable havock among the stragglers. These no sooner felt the impression of a regular force, than they hastened to their banners, and formed their ranks with all the speed the emergency would admit. Many of their chiefs dismounted, and arming themselves with spears, took their stations among the infantry, earnestly exhorting their men not to incur the disgrace of being vanquished by a number much inferior to their own. The conflict was severe, and long dubious. At length however, the front ranks of the Germans gave way; after which no threats or admonitions could retain the succeeding troops in their stations. All fled in great disorder; some to the Rhine, which a few swam across, and others passed in boats; many into the lake, where most of them perished; and the greatest number to Constance, where, the general panic having preceded them, it was with difficulty that

Schwaderloch,

the citizens could be prevailed upon to open the gates for their admission. Fourteen hundred of their men fell on the field, and with them many chiefs of high birth and great renown. Fifteen large cannon and twelve culverines were the booty which the Confederates prized above all the rest, as they had often experienced the disadvantages of a want of artillery.

During this fierce and bloody warfare on the confines of Rhætia and before Constance, various encounters took place on both sides of the Rhine, between the lake of Constance and Basle. A body of volunteers from Berne, about one thousand in number, under the command of Daniel de Bubenberg, advanced towards the Sundgau, and met a band of four thousand Austrians, whom they routed, and drove into a wood called Bruderholz, near Basle, and took from them a great part of their arms and baggage, and several colours, on some of which was figured a scourge, with the words, 'Drive, and it 'will go.' Various parties also of the Confederates crossed the Rhine, and made inroads into the Hegau and Klegau ;[13] took, pillaged, and burnt many towns, castles, and villages, treating with peculiar severity many of the nobles who fell into their hands, whom they knew to have ever been their most implacable enemies. The town of Dungen having been compelled to surrender, the garrison, above one thousand in number, were stripped to their shirts, and with white wands in their hands, were led through the Swiss camp, and then dismissed. At the castle of Blumenfeld they consented that the garrison and inhabitants might withdraw, each person taking away all he could carry. They excepted however from

Bruderholz,

[13] Districts of Suabia, bordering on the Rhine near Shaffhausen.

CHAP. IV.

this indulgence the Baron de Roseneck, whom they considered as their bitterest foe; but the baroness, imitating perhaps the example of the matrons of Weinsberg in the time of Conrad the Third, took her husband on her back, and carried him out of the castle. Her conjugal affection softened the hearts of the fierce warriors, who gave liberty to the baron, and restored all her effects to his virtuous consort. In the last of these incursions they found the Hegau so totally laid waste, and the wretched people driven to such desperation, that they were compelled to retreat with some dishonour: and this is the only check they appear to have received during this obstinate war.

The chiefs of the Suabian league, perceiving that their joint and most strenuous efforts availed but little against the valour and enterprising spirit of the Confederates, sent to the emperor, who was then engaged in a contest with Count Egmont for the principality of Guelders, to come without delay to their assistance. Maximilian made a truce with the count, and hastened with six thousand men to Friburg in Brisgau; where, towards the end of April, he published a proclamation, setting forth, in acrimonious language, the rebellious conduct of the Confederates, enumerating the many illustrious families whom, as he pretended, they had stript of their patrimony, and solemnly calling upon the whole empire to assist him in reducing these stubborn peasants to obedience. This declaration was of no effect; the members of the empire not admitting altogether the truth of the allegations it contained, and considering the war as the peculiar concern of the emperor, which he had provoked, without just cause or due deliberation. The Confederates were now ravaging the Kle-

gau, and preparing to march up the eastern side of the lake of Constance, in order to join the Grisons on the side of the Tyrol, when they learnt that the emperor was assembling an army of twenty thousand men in the Sundgau, and threatened to invade the canton of Soleure. The banners of Berne and Friburg immediately returned to the frontiers that were thus menaced. Soleure had sent forces to occupy the strong post of Dornach; and these, on the fifth of May, were joined by two thousand four hundred Berners, together with a strong body from Friburg, and many volunteers from Lucern. The Count of Furstemberg, an imperial general of great renown, advanced with fourteen thousand infantry and two thousand horse, among which were the formidable Gueldrian guards. Trusting to false reports, he believed that the main force of the Confederates was posted at the Schwaderloch, to observe the garrison of Constance which had now been considerably reinforced; and confident of perfect security by the superiority of their numbers, his troops became wholly regardless of order and discipline, their march bearing much more the appearance of a festive party, than of an hostile expedition. The Confederates, who viewed this disorderly assemblage from Dornach, Liechstall, and other heights they occupied, had no doubt but that an attack, such as they were accustomed to make, would infallibly prove successful. The enemy had formed three separate camps, which wholly invested the castle of Dornach. Nicholas Conrad, the Avoyer of Soleure, who commanded an advanced post, caused his men to wear the red cross of Burgundy, and led them on as a body of imperialists, against a detachment of the Germans, who were not undeceived till, by a furious discharge of fire arms, and incessant and heavy blows

and Dornach.

CHAP. IV.

of halberds and all sorts of hostile weapons, they found what an enemy they had to contend with. This corps fled with great precipitation, and joined the main army, whose grand division on the left found itself likewise compelled by a vigorous attack to fall back towards Arlesheim on the Birs. The whole of the imperial army was now drawn up in front of this river, and here it was attacked with the utmost impetuosity by the collected forces of the Confederates, consisting of about six thousand men. A most severe conflict ensued, which lasted, without intermission, for upwards of four hours. The Gueldrian guards had crossed the river, and had fallen upon the flanks of the Confederates, who besides were all greatly annoyed by the artillery of the enemy. At length the fate of the day was decided by the approach of a reinforcement of twelve hundred men of Lucern and Zug, which arrived at the decisive moment from Arlesheim. Their presence revived the courage and vigor of the Swiss, and their fierce attacks could no longer be sustained by the astonished foe. These, in endeavouring to gain the bridge over the Birs, were thrown into the utmost confusion, and their retreat soon became a general rout. The Swiss took possession of their camp; but night coming on, which proved uncommonly dark, they were prevented from pursuing them to any distance. The Confederates are reported to have lost three hundred men, and the Germans ten times that number: among the latter, were the Count of Furstemberg, their leader, and many nobles of high distinction. This signal victory was obtained on the twenty-second of July, and has, until their late defeats, been commemorated as the last battle which the Confederates have fought, within their boundaries, for the defence of their freedom and inde-

pendence. On the next day the army was joined by the troops of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden, and advanced towards Basle; but meeting with no enemies in the field, it dispersed, and each banner returned to its own canton. The Swiss are, not without reason, reproached with having on this occasion (like Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ) omitted to avail themselves of the victory they had gained with so much glory.

An unsuccessful attempt, which the emperor had made a few days before at Constance, to dislodge the Confederates from their strong post at the Schwaderloch,[19] had already so far discouraged him in the prosecution of this disastrous war, as not only to induce him to quit the army, but also to favour the negotiations that had been commenced under the mediation of French and Milanese plenipotentiaries,[20] who, with

[19] Pirckhaymerus mentions a trifling incident, which, however, as it is characteristic of the nation, is not altogether unworthy of a place in this history. It was customary in these times, when men could not well be spared, to send women, and more frequently young girls, on messages. A young lass, who had brought a letter from the camp at Schwaderloch to the emperor at Constance, was waiting in an outward court, among soldiers, for an answer, when one of them asked her, 'What are your 'men now doing in their camp?' she answered, 'They are preparing to receive you.' 'How numerous are they?' 'Quite enough to drive you away.' 'Have they any 'thing to eat?' 'No doubt they have, since they are alive and hearty.' Being further questioned about their numbers, she answered, 'You might have counted them your-'selves, when you last met them, had you not been in such haste to run away.' One of the men, meaning to terrify her, brandished his naked sword over her. The young heroine burst into a fit of laughter: 'Here is a bold warrior,' she cried, 'who raises 'his sword against a child. I wish I could see thee engaged with one of my country-'men: he would soon match thee with his fist.' De Bell. Suit. in Opp. p. 86.

[20] Tristan de Salazar Archbishop of Sens, Rigaud d'Oreille Governor of Chartres, and Antonine de Besse Bailiff of Dijon, on the part of France; and John Galeazzo Visconti, on the part of the Duke of Milan.

CHAP. IV.

views diametrically opposite, were equally solicitous to procure peace to the Confederates, in hopes to obtain their aid in Italy; the French in order to subdue, and Duke Lewis to defend, the dutchy of Milan. The defeat at Dornach not a little promoted this favourable disposition; and the Swiss, who demanded nothing but to be left in peace within their own boundaries, offered no obstacle to the progress of the pacification. A diet accordingly assembled the day after the battle of Dornach, at Zuric, to which another meeting succeeded soon after at Shaffhausen, and a third at Basle, which latter met on the twenty-fifth of August; and at which the representatives of all the belligerent and mediating parties were summoned, and actually appeared. The Confederates, who had been often baffled on sending their deputies to a congress, assembled at the same time a considerable army at Bruck. The ambassador of the Duke of Milan was here admitted as mediator. Much art and cunning was practised, and more attempts were made to over-reach the Confederates, than on any former occasion; the French plenipotentiaries in particular, using all means they could devise to counteract the bias in favour of Milan, of which the Swiss gave manifest symptoms, deeming that state the least insincere and selfish of the two. At length however, on the twentieth of

Peace.

September, a treaty of peace was concluded, by which the Confederates maintained their immunity from the imperial chamber, and the full exemption from all taxes or contributions imposed by the emperor; and also acquired the criminal jurisdiction in the Thurgau, the civil and territorial rights in that province having long since been in their possession.

Thus ended this ruinous war, in which, in less than nine months, upwards of twenty thousand men lost their lives; and near two thousand towns, castles, and villages were taken, pillaged, and reduced to ashes. Some contemporary writers[21] have called it the great war, and very erroneously ascribed the advantages chiefly to the Germans. The principal battles are allowed by all to have been decisive in favour of the Confederates, whose inroads into the Suabian circle are moreover admitted on all hands to have been in general successful; while the imperialists, except in an incursion they made into the Engadine, could never boast of having passed one night on the territories of the Confederates. The terms of peace moreover evidently prove which side had been the most successful in the war. The emperor, and the Suabian league, obtained none of the objects they had in view; while the Confederates retained all they contended for, their absolute independence from all foreign power, military, judicial, or financial; and in addition acquired a jurisdiction in the Thurgau, which, if left in other hands, might have afforded frequent opportunities for contention. The absolute independence of the nation was indeed not acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, till a century and a half after this pacification;[22] but no attempt whatever has, from the peace of

[21] Nauclerus; Ulr. Mutius, &c. Conf. Guicciardini Hist. Ital. vol. i. p. 276. edit. 1738. They make the number of slain amount to thirty thousand. Of the almost incredible devastation of towns, &c. we have the cogent authority of Lauffer.

[22] A prognosticating passage of Baron Zurlauben, in his Hist. Milit. des Suisses, t. i. p. 80, is too memorable to be here omitted. 'L'independance generale des 'cantons n'a été reconnüe pour tousjour qu'en 1648, au traité de Westphalie; et il

CHAP. IV.

Basle to our days, been made by any state or potentate to molest the Confederates in the full enjoyment of their liberty, or to abridge them of any part of the paramount authority within their limits, which they uniformly claimed as their prescriptive right.

' est vraisemblable, qu'ils conserveront leur liberté tant que l'union regnera entr'eux, ' ou bien jusqu'à-ce qu'une nation aussi considerable que celle des Romains s'eleve de ' nouveau, et fasse la conquête de toute l'Europe.'—This was printed in the year 1751.

CHAP. V.

The Wars of Milan.

CHAP. V.

AFTER the complete emancipation of the Helvetic and Rhætian tribes from all foreign dominion, and from the iron rod of their domestic tyrants, achieved without any external aid or interference, but solely by their own valour, firmness and perseverance; and after they had yielded to the temptation of external alliances, public subsidies, private pensions, and the baneful allurements of foreign services; their history becomes so much blended with the events, projects, and intrigues of the neighbouring, and even some distant states, that, to follow with any degree of accuracy the various, and complicated incidents that henceforth compose their annals, would require a far wider scope than comes within the intended limits of this narrative. The war however, which soon after the pacification of Basle, was carried on, at the instigation of their neighbours, chiefly by the Confederates, in various parts of Lombardy, was of too great a magnitude, and too intimately connected with their interior condition and polity, not to demand a more circumstantial detail, than will be given of their subsequent exploits in distant parts; which, while they procured them abundance of laurels, did not however materially affect their domestic concerns. Nor must the impartial historian pass slightly over the principal occurrences of this

CHAP. V.

period, since among them he will meet with the most signal defeat the Confederates had ever yet experienced; and, what is far more disgraceful, with the imputation of a breach of faith, of which the nation had till then been deemed incapable.

Conquest of Milan by the French.

Of the claims of the two competitors to the dutchy of Milan, Lewis Sforza, surnamed the Moor, who was in actual possession, and Lewis the Twelfth King of France, the legal representative of the house of Visconti, from whom the Sforzas had, half a century before, wrested these dominions, a brief detail has been given in a preceding chapter.[1] King Lewis, who appears to have had no object more at heart than to add this important territory to his extensive dominions, had no sooner ascended the throne of France, than he took the necessary measures for asserting his title by force of arms. The Suabian war, in which the emperor and the Confederates were now too deeply engaged to interfere in his favourite project, appeared to him a favourable conjuncture; and he moreover secured the connivance of the Confederates, by promises of considerable advantages, in case he should succeed in his enterprise.

1499. He now sent a powerful army over the Alps, commanded by experienced generals, who, in the month of August, took possession of Milan and all its dependencies, and compelled Lewis Sforza to seek refuge in the Tyrol, under the protection of the emperor. The Marshal Trivulci, a native of Milan, and one of the generals of King Lewis, was left to govern this important acquisition; but the rooted prejudices the Milanese entertained against this haughty vicegerent, whom, as a Guelph, being most of them Ghibelins, they considered with horror; and yet more the disparity of manners and overbearing inso-

[1] See Vol. II. p. 53.

lence of the French soldiery left to secure their obedience, soon propagated discontents which, before the end of the year, broke out into open insurrection, and encouraged their ejected sovereign to return and attempt the recovery of his dukedom. He arrived in the next month of February, and with the aid of some stipendiary forces he brought with him, among which were many Swiss adventurers, but chiefly by the free suffrages of the people, and amidst their joyful acclamations, he was soon reinstated in his dominions. The French monarch however, who was bent on securing this conquest, lost no time in assembling fresh forces, and among these he now found means to enrol a great number of the Confederates, who, in defiance of the most rigid prohibitions of their government, flocked to his standards. This army, under the command of Lewis de la Tremouille, appeared early in the spring in the plains of Lombardy, and on the ninth of April was met at Novarra by the duke and a promiscuous assemblage of Burgundians, Lansquenets,[2] and Confederates, who were retained in his service merely by the prospect of ample rewards. These however, not receiving their allotted pay, soon renounced the service; and the latter in particular, seeing numbers of their countrymen in the French army, declared their intention of returning to their mountains. Before they withdrew, they made an offer to the duke to lead him away in the disguise of one of their privates. He accepted the proposal, but was betrayed by a man of Uri, and taken. The traitor was immediately put into irons by his exasperated countrymen, and led to their canton,

1500.

[2] A foot soldier was formerly called in Germany *Lands-knecht*, from whence, no doubt, is derived the general appellation of the German infantry, so frequently retained in the armies of princes at this period.

CHAP. V.

where he was sentenced to death, and publicly beheaded. Should this atonement not altogether efface the stain of perfidy, the crime of a single individual will not however, in candid minds, taint the character of a whole nation. The ill fated duke was conducted into France, where, in several state prisons, and finally in the castle of Loches in Tourraine, he survived his last expulsion ten tedious years; during which period, and for two years after his demise, King Lewis continued in the undisturbed possession of his long wished for conquest.

Basle and Shaffhausen admitted into the Confederacy. 1501.

In the course of the succeeding year the confederacy received an accession of no small importance, by the incorporation of two cities, which the cantons had ever, with justice, considered as the bulwarks of their country, on the side of the Germanic empire. Basle and Shaffhausen had long shewn a bias in favour of the Confederates, and, especially during the late Suabian war, had essentially favoured them, less by actual services than by a strict neutrality, which had greatly offended the nobles, both within their walls and in the vicinity. The Basilians in particular found it necessary to keep a strong and constant guard at each of their gates, to repel any sudden attack to which they knew themselves to be incessantly exposed. Their best security, they plainly perceived, would be a participation in the Helvetic Confederacy; and the cantons, when the offer was made them, were too well aware of the utility of such a union, not to acquiesce in the candid proposal. The several articles and restrictions here stipulated were nearly similar to those contained in the leagues with Friburg and Soleure; but Basle, in consideration of its greater extent and consequence, received, with the free consent of those two cities, the precedency before them, and retained its place as

the ninth canton. The union with this city was signed and publicly proclaimed in its market place, on the thirteenth of July: and such was the confidence it instantly inspired, that on the same evening all the guards were removed from the gates, which were now left open; and a woman with her spinning wheel was stationed at each of them, merely for the purpose of receiving the tolls. The league with Shaffhausen was confirmed on the tenth of August; and this city took its rank in the confederacy as the twelfth canton.

The time is now approaching when, after many conquests and reprisals, the Confederates at length obtained the permanent possession of the seven transalpine jurisdictions,[3] which, though it may justly be doubted whether free states ought ever to hold dependencies in absolute subjection, were however deemed so essential to their welfare, as to induce them to have continual recourse to arms, either for the defence or recovery of those important districts. This extreme solicitude may, among other urgent reasons, be obviously accounted for by the local as well as political situation of the confederate states. Several of the cantons had now established a considerable commercial intercourse with their neighbouring nations, and Zuric in particular was become the principal emporium of the extensive trade that was carried on between the marts of Germany and Italy. Great and incessant had been the toils of the peasants on the higher Alps (who more-

[3] The Italian balliwicks: 1. Riviera; 2. Bellinzona; and 3. Val Brenna, subject to the three original forest cantons: 4. Val Maggia; 5. Locarno; 6. Lugano; and 7. Mendrisio, which alternately received their periodical magistrates from all the cantons, Appenzel only excepted, which was not in the confederacy when these provinces were acquired.

CHAP. V.

over depended chiefly on Lombardy for their supply of corn) to open and keep in repair the craggy pass over Mount St. Gothard, on which their commerce with Italy absolutely depended: but all these efforts were often frustrated by the malignity, caprice, or perhaps at times by the just resentment of the rulers, who had the command in the valleys that extend from the southern foot of the mountain. These chiefs, from the nature of their rugged and narrow dells, had it ever in their power, with a very small force, to obstruct the communication so essentially necessary to that regular intercourse which the commerce absolutely required: and the Confederates had now learnt, from long experience, that no security of intercourse could be maintained unless they had a free opening to the larger lakes of Locarno* and Como, and to the less extensive, though perhaps more important lake of Lugano.

The valley on the Ticino down to Bellinzona, was at this time, by the voluntary surrender of the inhabitants, occupied by the three old forest cantons; and Lewis the Twelfth, when he became sanguine for the conquest of Milan, had not only engaged to confirm them in the possession of it, but also, in the eagerness of his pursuit, in which he knew how effectually the Confederates might thwart him, had even promised, if he succeeded in his enterprise, to make over to the cantons the cities of Lugano and Locarno, together with their valuable dependencies. No sooner, however, had he achieved his purpose, than he sent to claim Bellinzona as a part of the dutchy of Milan, which being a fief of the empire, he alledged could not be dismembered, without infringing the fundamental laws of that august constitution. Repeated diets were held, and

* This lake is also called Lago Maggiore.

negotiations set on foot for adjusting this difference without an open rupture; and the neutral cantons earnestly exhorted the three ancient ones, whom this matter more immediately concerned, to listen to terms of accommodation: but these, incensed at the mere claim of the faithless monarch, would admit of no compromise, and peremptorily insisted on preserving the unqualified possession of what they deemed their lawful property. At length, finding no other security, they declared that they would argue with their halberds. They displayed their banners, and having summoned the Confederates, who were ready to comply with their wishes, they collected an army of fourteen thousand men, and led it into the valley, the possession of which they were firmly resolved to maintain. Charles de Chaumont, governor of Milan, assembled all the forces he could collect, and sent them to secure the passes from Bellinzona into the open country. Neither party had drawn out with a view to wage offensive war; but, incensed as they were against each other, pretences were not long wanting for the commencement of hostilities; and in a short time the Confederates became masters of the town, though not the castle, of Locarno, and of all the principal places on the northern extremity of that lake. 1503.

French seduction.

The king, being apprized of the decided measures adopted by the Confederates, determined to use every expedient to pacify them. He sent the bailiff of Dijon, and Richard le Moine, his private secretary, to their camp, who, at the interposition of the Bishop of Sion, and the Baron of Hohen-Sax, soon brought about an accommodation, by which the three old forest cantons were confirmed in the possession of the town, castles, and all the dependencies of Bellinzona: and

CHAP. V.

the king acceeded to the capitulate of Milan on the same terms as had been accepted by the Sforzas. Lewis did not hesitate to make still greater concessions; and so anxious was he to become more intimately connected with this nation, whose friendship or enmity he well knew would determine his possession of the Milanese, that he resolved to use all means, whether honourable or perfidious, to draw them into his snares. His public envoys and private emissaries, accordingly co-operated with indefatigable zeal and industry to captivate the minds of individuals; and as this could not be more readily effected than by corrupting their morals, no incentive was spared that might divert them from that primitive simplicity, to which they had till now owed their domestic prosperity, and untainted reputation. The magistrates indeed opposed many obstacles to this encroaching evil. Having, to their great sorrow and surprise, estimated that the number of Confederates who had perished in the cause of France, amounted to no less than thirty thousand,[5] they came to a firm resolution to prohibit, under the most severe penalties, all foreign levies, and the clandestine resort of their men to the armies of the neighbouring princes; and, conscious whence this abuse chiefly arose, they resolved and strictly ordained that, after the expiration of the existing compacts, no further engagements for military purposes, should be entered into with foreign states; and that all public subsidies and private pensions should cease for ever. Such however was the martial ardour of the people, that private enrolments could never be effectually prevented;

[5] The numbers of Swiss who lost their lives in the French service, from the year 1480 to 1715, appears, by a moderate computation, to have amounted to 700,000.—Meister's Schweizerszenen, T. I. p. 130.

and although most advantageous and pressing offers for foreign alliances were, during several years, peremptorily rejected; yet even this salutary spirit yielded at last to the corruption of manners, the dereliction of trué patriotism, and the narrow egotism, first propagated, and ever since industriously fostered, by the French and other foreign emissaries.

Historians have recorded, with surprise and marked disapprobation, the enormous prodigality of the French ambassadors then residing in the cantons. Their retinues equalled those of sovereign princes. They almost daily entertained most of the principal inhabitants of the towns in which they resided. One of them, the Bishop of Riez, often, at Berne and at Lucern, sat at table with one thousand guests. The Lord de Roquebertin, another delegate, offered to defray the expences of all the deputies who attended the diets at Baden: in his frequent journies he scattered abundance of money among the crowds, who, in expectation of such largesses, did not fail to present themselves on his passage. Both of them made considerable presents to the women who were thought to have some influence among the rulers; nor were gratuities to favourite children sparingly distributed. To men thus predisposed, they represented in glowing colours the great advantages that would accrue to their country from a close union with the powerful and munificent sovereign of the French monarchy, and insinuated that the treasures he still destined for his Helvetic friends would soon raise their nation to an equality with all others in point of wealth and consequence. The government was not blind to the pernicious tendency of such exorbitant profusion, and issued rigid orders to restrain its progress: but many of the higher orders were not free from

CHAP. V.

the suspicion of having shared in the corrupt donatives. Hence arose mistrust and animosities, which soon pervaded the senates, the cities, and the people at large: and even the cantons experienced a disunion, which, while it distracted their councils, and gave a free scope to their seducers, rendered dubious the fair reputation for wisdom and probity, for which they had hitherto been universally celebrated.

1507. The first object the French obtained by their insidious arts was to render nugatory a treaty which the cantons had recently concluded with the emperor Maximilian. As head of the empire, of which the Confederates were still considered as members, he had called upon them for a body of troops to escort him to Rome, where he proposed to receive the imperial crown; and nine of them had actually agreed to supply him with six thousand men for that purpose. The French agents however, aware that the coronation was not the sole object of the intended expedition, exerted all their influence to invalidate this engagement. They did not succeed to the extent of their wishes; but they obtained what was equivalent, the insertion of a clause in the treaty, which stipulated that these forces should on no account be employed against their sovereign. The emperor, whose real intention was to collect a large army in order to invade Milan, seeing himself deprived of these auxiliaries, laid aside his project. The pope, on this occasion, issued a brief, by virtue of which the head of the empire, although not crowned by the hand of the pontiff, has ever after assumed the title of emperor.[6]

1508. The cantons, during the war that was carried on by the greatest powers of Europe against the republic of Venice, in

[6] See Vol. I. p. 111. n. 23.

CHAP. IV.

consequence of the league of Cambray, still preserved their salutary reluctance to foreign engagements: and the whole of the ensuing year was chiefly spent in intrigues and negotiations for subsidiary alliances, which the senates still uniformly resisted. Pope Julius the second, the implacable enemy of the King of France, applied for troops for the defence of the holy see; and the Emperor, France, Venice, and other subordinate states, used every art to obtain auxiliaries, though none of them succeeded ostensibly: yet with all its vigilance and earnest endeavours, the government could never effectually prevent the private levies that were constantly making, chiefly by France, and which, though solemnly condemned and disavowed by the magistrates in their official capacities, were no doubt secretly countenanced by men in power, who had not been proof against the prevailing inducements of French donatives. 1509.

This defiance offered to their decrees did not fail to irritate the bulk of the Helvetic nation against their Gallic neighbours, who still disregarded their most positive injunctions; and this progressive enmity received no small addition from the insinuations and artifices of one who, though insignificant in his origin, rose to be the prime mover of many important events during several subsequent years. Matthew Shinner, a man of ignoble birth in the Valais, rose by his talents and intrigue, to high preferments in the church, and in the first year of this century was exalted to the episcopal see of Sion. He had, in the early part of his life, been intimately connected with George de Ober-Sax,[7] a powerful baron in the

Matthew Shinner.

[7] He is also by some called de la Flue, from the name of his principal castle in the Valais.

CHAP. V.

Valais and Rhætia. Both were actuated by ardent and aspiring passions, and both equally felt that nature had destined them for the higher sphere of political exertion. Both had warmly espoused the French interest; but the bishop estimated his services at so high a rate, that Lewis declined them, and thereby inspired him with the most rancorous resentment. His friend the baron, not coinciding with him in his vindictive views, animosities arose between them, which, unhappily for their country, ended in relentless discord, and rank persecution. Shinner resolved now to seek his further aggrandizement by courting the favour of the sovereign pontiff, and with this view wholly devoted himself to his service. The power and versatility of his talents, with the brilliancy of his eloquence, procured him a decided ascendency in most of the cantons, by means of which, at a diet held at Schwitz in the month of February, he negotiated and obtained the confirmation of a five years treaty, by which, in consideration of an annual gratuity of one thousand florins to each canton, the pope was, in case of emergency, authorized to raise six thousand Confederates, at his own expence. Thus was the humane purpose of the promoters of the absolute rejection of foreign engagements at once frustrated by the artful cabals of a revengeful prelate.

This treaty with the pope greatly contributed to widen the breach between the Confederates and the crown of France; insomuch that, the last alliance being about this time expired, and the king's ambassadors having applied for a renewal, the cantons, conscious that the successes of Lewis had been chiefly owing to their auxiliaries, demanded a considerable augmentation of the pay and subsidies stipulated in the former treaties.

CHAP. V.

The king, swayed more by a petulance of temper than the prudent advice of his ministers, rejected the proposal with scorn, declaring that 'on no account should the rude peasants 'of the Alps dictate conditions to him.' Of this harsh expression he, not long after, found cause to repent; for the Swiss, in a pressing emergency, when he sent to demand their aid on any terms, abruptly refused to listen to any overtures.

Hostilities in Italy.

In the month of July a body of Confederates marched down the valley of the Ticino, and spread terror to the very gates of Milan. Their object, they gave out, was, in consequence of a treaty with the Pope, to reduce the Duke of Ferrara to the subjection he owed to the holy see. They did not however make any considerable progress: their pay, which the Fuggers, an eminent mercantile house at Augsburg, had engaged to advance, not being duly issued; and perhaps (as indeed was suspected by many) some of their leaders having yielded to the temptation of French corruption, they returned home, without having molested any of their neighbours. The pope warmly resented this dereliction of his cause, and even inflicted his spiritual censures on those who had disappointed his sanguine expectations.

1511.

Soon after this fruitless expedition, three Swiss messengers were seized by the French in the Milanese; their dispatches were taken from them, and two of them were even reported to have been put to death. Schwitz was foremost in declaring its intention to revenge this insult, and instantly called upon the whole confederacy to join in an expedition for that purpose. France offered ample satisfaction, but without effect. Ten thousand Confederates assembled in the month of November at Varesa, and actually advanced to within a few miles

CHAP. V.

of Milan. Gaston de Foix, at that time governor of the dutchy, collected all his forces, and marched out to meet them; but finding that he could not, with any prospect of success, hazard an engagement, he contented himself with observing their motions, and cutting off their supplies. They had spread wide over the country, and committed much havock, when on a sudden, for reasons that have never been ascertained, they turned off towards Como, and in a few days returned to their homes. Several have ascribed this sudden retreat to the non-arrival of some expected aid from Rome and Venice, but many have again suspected the all pervading influence of French seduction.

The Bishop of Sion, mean-while, finding that he could not prevail over his antagonist in his own country, where the baron was singularly beloved, resolved to calumniate him in the cantons, with some of which this hated rival was connected by the tie of co-burghership. The crafty prelate succeeded so well at Berne, that the baron's name was actually struck out of the list of citizens: the latter however, resolved to come in person to this city, and vindicate his conduct; but being arrived at Friburg, he was seized, thrown into a dungeon, and put to the rack in order to extort a confession of his secret practices with France. He was at the eve of being led to the scaffold, when Francis Arsent, the Avoyer, commiserating his fate, facilitated his escape. The burghers upon this, exasperated against the humane magistrate, seized and tortured his person, sentenced him to lose his head, and saw him publicly executed. The baron, who had fled to Neuchattel, was demanded by Berne, and surrendered. He was here tried; but the evidence adduced by the Friburghers being deemed in-

sufficient, he was acquitted and released. He returned to the Valais, where he continued to promote the French interest. The bishop in the interim, having incurred the odium of the people, was banished by the ostracism of the mace,[7] and fled under various disguises, and through innumerable dangers, to Rome, where his zeal for the holy church, or rather his implacable aversion to the French, was rewarded by the long wished for dignity of cardinal.

In an age chiefly influenced by the policy of such men as Julius, Maximilian, and Ferdinand the Catholic, few instances can be expected of integrity, honour, or even common probity; and this period accordingly exhibits so rapid a succession of broken engagements, and such a complicated variety of unlooked for combinations and treaties, all of them most solemnly ratified, and the greatest part of them as wantonly infringed the very instant the momentary and selfish purposes for which they were made had been accomplished, that while the unravelling of them must perplex the historian, the best detail that can be given will only serve to excite indignation in the reader who looks for improvement in the contemplation of past events.

The Pope, and the King of Arragon, having obtained the objects for which they had set on foot the league of Cambray, (the former having acquired an uncontrolled ascendency over Venice, and the latter the possession of the kingdom of Naples) they not only deserted the alliance; but, it being now highly conducive to both of them that France should retain no footing in Italy, they instantly entered into a close union with Venice against that kingdom, into which they gradually allured the

[7] See Vol. I. p. 385, n. 21.

CHAP. V.

emperor, and even the young and unsuspecting King of England; and availing themselves of the personal enmity the Swiss entertained against the French monarch, and of the influence of the Cardinal of Sion, who now returned to his country with the legatine authority, they found little difficulty in engaging the cantons in their cause. To this league, which had nothing in view but reducing the power of Lewis, the Pope, as head of the church, and the King of Arragon, who made religion the cloak for all his artifices, had the consummate assurance and hypocrisy to ascribe the epithet of *holy*.

1512. Early in this year, the twelve cantons renewed their hereditary union with the house of Austria, at that time represented by the Emperor Maximilian, and his grandson Charles, the future sovereign of the most extensive monarchy in Europe. They also sent deputies to Venice to concert measures with the Cardinal of Sion, for the final expulsion of the French out of Lombardy. On the sixth of May they took the field, near twenty thousand in number, and proceeding from Coire, their place of rendezvous, through Trent and Verona, joined a body of Venetians at Villa-Franca, and advanced rapidly towards the Milanese, the whole of which was, at their approach, evacuated by the French generals de la Palice and Normandie, except the castles of Milan, Novarra, and Cremona, and those of Lugano and Locarno, the towns of which were occupied by the Confederates. Although the whole had been possessed in the name of the Holy League, yet particular appropriations were immediately made to the different coalesced parties. Among other inferior allotments, Parma, Placentia, and Bologna, were surrendered to the pope;

Lugano, Locarno, and Domo, were retained by the cantons; the Valteline and Chiavenna by the Grison leagues; and what remained of the dutchy of Milan was reserved for Maximilian, the eldest son of the lately deceased Lewis Sforza, a man truly, though not always undeservedly, unfortunate. The confederate bands after this returned to their homes, where they arrived about the middle of August, bearing with them a sword of pure gold, a ducal cap lined with ermine, and several consecrated banners of rich brocade, all which had been presented to them by the pope, who at the same time conferred on them the title of *Defenders of the Church*.

The Confederates now spared none of the vassals or other retainers of the French king. They seized on the county of Neuchattel, which had about this time devolved to Lewis Duke of Orleans, in right of Joan of Hochberg his consort; but which, after retaining it seventeen years, they, being still more swayed by justice than expediency, freely returned to the rightful heir.[9] The canton of Soleure also took possession of the county of Thierstein, solely because its proprietor had entered into the French service. This also was soon after restored: but in the sequel it legally reverted to, and was finally incorporated with the canton.

Several of the members of the Holy League, so far from being satisfied with the accessions they had obtained in the late partition, formed new pretensions, which gave rise not only to private remonstrances, but even to public contests among themselves. Their animosities however, did not so far blind them, as to conceal from them the necessity of retaining the friendship of the Swiss cantons, in order to secure the objects

[9] The canton of Uri could never be brought to consent to this restitution.

CHAP. V.

they had in view: and so urgent were most of the Christian powers, that, at three diets held at Baden, Zuric, and Lucern, the former in August, and the two others in September, there actually appeared plenipotentiaries from the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of France, England, and Arragon, the republic of Venice, the Dukes of Milan, Savoy, and Lorrain, and other inferior states. At these meetings the pope, no doubt through the intrigues of the Cardinal of Sion, appears always to have had the greater influence; and yet even this crafty advocate found it impossible to obtain what had long since been the great object of the pontiff's wishes, a body of troops to reduce his refractory vassal, the Duke of Ferrara. The Confederates were unwilling to foment new wars in Italy; and, with a view to prevent it, they agreed to send an embassy to Rome, the pope having requested it from a desire, no doubt, to impress other powers with an opinion of the ascendency he had gained over this formidable nation. These ambassadors, having taken Venice in their way, heard the loud complaints of that senate both against the pope and the emperor, for having laid claim to many of their territories, which had been gratuitously assigned to them by the league of Cambray; the latter of whom had moreover avowed the project of seizing the dutchy of Milan for his grandson Charles, who, by that accession, would have become the sole arbiter of the fate of Italy. The Swiss ambassadors were sumptuously received, and greatly caressed at Rome: they acceded to all the pope required of them; but obtained none of the objects they were instructed to demand, the principal of which was the restitution of Parma and Placentia to the Duke of Milan. Julius, under the specious pretence of preserving the

peace of Italy, prevailed on them to use their best endeavours to pacify the Venetians; but the attempt they made for this purpose proved ineffectual. The emperor hereupon, and the pope, formed a new alliance against Venice; and this republic, a few months after it had contributed towards the expulsion of the French king out of Lombardy, was now in a manner compelled to espouse his cause, and was in the sequel not a little instrumental in reinstating him in the possession of Milan.

No intrigues, promises, or menaces of the neighbouring states could, meanwhile, divert the Confederates from their firm purpose of solemnly investing Maximilian Sforza with the dutchy of Milan. The emperor himself, after many fruitless evasions, acceded at length to a treaty made at Baden, by which the cantons guaranteed the possession of Milan to this young prince; who in return confirmed to them the absolute sovereignty over the bailiwicks of Lugano, Locarno, and Val Maggia, and agreed moreover to pay them the sum of two hundred thousand ducats, and an annual subsidy of forty thousand ducats. Several of the chief magistrates of the cantons were upon this deputed, who in the month of December repaired to Milan, had a previous conference with Maximilian, who had lately returned from Germany, and on the last day of the year attended his public entry into the city, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people. At the gate, the landamman of Uri, in the name of the whole confederacy, delivered into his hands the keys of his capital, and all the muniments and insignia belonging to the supremacy of the dutchy. A few days after, the duke ratified the treaty of Baden, confirmed the cession of the three bailiwicks, solicited the further

CHAP. V.

mediation of the cantons for the restoration of Parma and Placentia, and also of the Valteline and Chia enna from the hands of the Grisons but at the same time expressed his anxiety at an audience they had granted to a splendid embassy from France, which, knowing Lewis's determined purpose to possess the Milanese, he freely acknowledged had alarmed his fears.

The French king, in fact, having now sufficiently experienced that the fate of Milan depended chiefly on the Confederates, resolved to make another attempt towards conciliating their friendship. He sent to demand safe conducts for persons of no less consequence than the Marshal Duke de la Tremouille, Claudius de Seyssal Bishop of Marseilles, one of the most eloquent men of his court, and Imbert de Villeneuve President of Dijon, a civilian of great repute, whom he proposed to send to them in the highest diplomatic characters. His pride however, must have been abundantly mortified when he found that even these passports would be withheld by those rude mountaineers, whom he had so lately reviled, unless he would previously pay them the sum of two and twenty thousand crowns for a dormant claim, surrender the castles of Lugano and Locarno, still held by his garrisons, and solemnly engage not to suffer any of his emissaries to raise recruits among the Confederates, without the consent of the magistrates. The monarch brooked the humiliation, and when he had complied with these terms, his ambassadors appeared at a diet held at Lucern on the eleventh of February. The persuasive bishop, in the name of his colleagues, descanted in the most energetic language on the many and evident proofs his master had given of his earnest desire to be upon friendly terms

with the cantons: he extenuated the harshness of an unguarded expression, and intimated that there was nothing they could ask which, if in his power, the king would not comply with: he reminded them that the alliances which had long subsisted between France and the Confederates had ever been mutually advantageous; whereas both parties had but too often been the dupes of Italian perfidy: he apprized them that the king was at that very time solicited by an Italian state to enter into a close alliance;[10] but that, preferring the friendship of the Confederates before that of all other nations, he should delay his answer until such time as he should know their determination: that if he had them on his side, he should neither seek nor stand in need of any other aid. A negotiation upon this commenced: many concessions were made by the French ambassadors, and many points were adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of the parties; but an insurmountable obstacle was at length started, which instantly put an end to the conference. The king demanded their consent to his taking possession of the dutchy of Milan, which he claimed as his lawful inheritance, and which they, on the other hand, having lately obtained it by conquest, and formally granted it, maintained that they were bound by their guarantee to preserve to its present possessor.

Some expectations of a material change in the affairs of Italy were now raised by the death of Pope Julius the Second, who expired on the twenty-first of February; but the commanding spirit of Leo the Tenth, his successor, though neither so martial nor so implacable as that of his predecessor, had yet the same policy in view, namely, the securing to the church

[10] Alluding no doubt to the offers of Venice.

CHAP. V.

the supreme ascendency within the Alps; for which purpose he went through the same rapid alternation of measures, and succession of treaties, alliances, and breaches of promise, that had marked the preceding pontificate. His first object was to renew the alliance with the cantons; and the Cardinal of Sion, in his behalf, still exerted all his influence to prevent their listening to any overtures on the part of France. Nevertheless Lewis, being well apprised that the new pope did not harbour so inveterate an antipathy against him, as had ever animated his predecessor, and having moreover secured the assistance of the Venetians, thought he might venture an expedition into Italy without the danger of so stubborn a resistance as he had hitherto experienced from the pontiff. His army, consisting of four and twenty thousand men, commanded by la Tremouille and the aged Trivulci, meeting with scarce any resistance, soon penetrated beyond the Sesia, and threatened the capital of Milan. Duke Maximilian, in this extreme danger, most of his towns having voluntarily surrendered to the invaders, had immediate recourse to the Confederates. These came without delay, about twelve thousand in number; and having been joined at Tortona by the duke, and a few dispirited Italians, whom he had with some difficulty collected, they proceeded towards Novarra, into which place, as the French had shewn a manifest intention to besiege it, they threw a garrison deemed sufficient for its defence.

In pursuance of the treaty between the pope and the cantons, a combined army under the command of Raymond de Cardona Viceroy of Naples, was to co-operate with the confederates in the defence of Lombardy against the French. The Viceroy actually approached with no inconsiderable force; but he soon

gave indications that his purpose was merely an ostensible display, and that in reality he meant only to look on at a distance. The Swiss soon perceived the fallacy of his desultory motions; and sent him word that they should place no reliance in his proffered aid. The French meanwhile had brought a numerous artillery before Novarra, and began to batter the walls with such fury, that several breaches were soon opened. These however the Confederates wholly disregarded, and not only neglected to repair, but even to mask them; nor would they suffer the gates of the town to be shut, intimating to their enemies by a herald, that their bodies were the ramparts and fences on which they chiefly relied. The French, exasperated at the obstinate resistance they met with, resolved on a general assault; but having been repulsed with loss, and receiving intelligence that a fresh body of Confederates was approaching, they raised the siege, and retreated into a strong camp about three miles from the town. In the evening of the fifth of June, eight thousand Confederates joined the garrison, and brought intelligence that a further reinforcement was approaching, under the command of Ulric Count of Hohen-Sax. In the night the chiefs deliberated on the steps to be taken, and agreed not to wait for the reinforcement, that the enemy might not have time to strengthen their intrenchments; but to march out immediately and begin the attack before day-break, that the darkness of the night might in some measure screen them from the effect of the numerous artillery they knew they had to encounter. Thus resolved, they sallied forth through the gates and breaches, and forming in two columns, the one about seven, and the other three thousand in number, they advanced rapidly towards the enemy.

Battle of Novarra.

CHAP. V.

While the latter column kept the cavalry in awe, the former marched straight up to the artillery, and rushed with their usual impetuosity upon the Lansquenets and French infantry stationed for its defence. Their approach however, could neither be so rapid or unperceived, as to prevent a great havock being committed among them by the brisk fire kept up by the heavy pieces of ordnance. The hostile ranks for some time repulsed each other alternately, like contending billows, and the victory remained long doubtful, until the battle-axes of the Swiss prevailed; and most of the Lansquenets having been cut to pieces, the whole artillery was seized. All that remained of the enemy's army hereupon fled in such dismay, that their commanders found it impossible to rally or detain any of them, until they had reached the confines of France. The whole of the cavalry escaped, the Swiss having no horse for the pursuit. The loss of the French in this battle, which lasted about three hours, was estimated at nearly ten thousand. Of the Confederates, about two thousand are said to have fallen. The victorious survivors, loaded with spoils (the whole of the French camp having fallen into their hands) returned in the course of the day to Novarra, where they were received with excessive joy by Maximilian, who found himself now a second time reinstated in his dukedom by the Confederates.

Such was the fame the Swiss derived from this victory, that they were now universally deemed invincible; and writers of acknowledged impartiality and discernment, [10] have not hesitated to acknowledge that, considering the intrepidity of

[10] Paul Jovius; Guicciardini, &c. The latter bestows uncommon praise on one of the Swiss leaders whom he calls Motin; but he appears to have been misinformed, at least as to his name. See Wattev. Hist. de la Conf. Helv. T. II. p. 80.

the attack, voluntarily undertaken, with a force greatly inferior in numbers as well as arms, and unsupported by either artillery or horse; they much doubted whether any of the battles described by the Greek and Roman historians, can be compared with this, for conduct and heroism. With this renown, and with abundance of trophies and spoils, the Confederates returned to their respective homes, where they all arrived before the end of July.

Various causes, among which the distribution of the rich booty lately brought from Italy was not one of the least prevalent, soon excited murmurs in the country, which being fomented by the crafty legate and his creatures, shortly broke out into open insurrection. All who were suspected of favouring the cause of France being particularly obnoxious, several of them were put to death by popular decrees; and among these, even the aged and venerable banneret of Berne, Caspar Hetzel, whose son had, against his father's consent, engaged in the French service. The magistrates of Berne, Lucern, and Soleure, where the insurgents had been most outrageous, made several concessions, and even proceeded with great severity against all who were convicted of having secretly received French stipends, or having been instrumental in clandestine levies: but recollecting likewise the example of the Romans, who, in seditious times were wont to avert the fury of the people by directing it against foreign enemies, they resolved to send an expedition abroad; and as a war with France they knew would be most popular, and no treaty, or even truce subsisted between the two nations, they determined to invade that kingdom, in conjunction with the emperor, who had in fact urged the project, and promised to supply the sums required for the pur-

Invasion of Burgundy.

CHAP. V.

pose, and with the King of England, who had recently invaded France with a formidable army. Their forces, commanded by James de Watteville, met at Besançon, and were there joined by Ulric Duke of Wurtemberg with a body of imperial cuirassiers and some artillery, and in a short time penetrated to the gates of Dijon, into which place the Marshal de la Tremouille, lately returned from Italy, had thrown himself with all the forces he had been able to collect. A wide breach was soon opened in the walls of this place, and the Confederates were preparing for a general assault, to the great terror of the inhabitants, when la Tremouille, conscious from the experience of former engagements, that he should not be able to resist the attack of such an enemy, and aware likewise that this place being once reduced, the capital and the whole kingdom would be exposed to the invaders, resolved to avert the impending danger by a delusive treaty, which, at the time it was negotiating, he was well assured his sovereign would not ratify. Some of their leaders having been previously brought over, the following very advantageous capitulation was accepted by the Confederates, without hesitation. 'The king,' it stipulated, 'shall renounce all pretensions to the dutchy of 'Milan and the county of Asti, and surrender all the strong 'holds his troops still occupy in Lombardy: he shall pay, at 'stated periods, the sum of four hundred thousand crowns to 'the Confederates:" the Duke of Wurtemberg shall be re-'instated in the possession of all the appendages of the county 'of Monbilliard, and shall moreover be indemnified for all 'his losses in this expedition: the king shall strictly prohibit 'all clandestine levies in the cantons and their dependencies:

" Guicciardini says 600,000.

CHAP. V.

'and lastly, the Lord de Mezieres, nephew to la Tremouille, 'and four other men of high rank, shall be delivered to the 'Confederates as hostages for the punctual execution of this 'treaty.' The instrument having been duly signed and sealed on the thirteenth of September, the Swiss broke up their camp; and replied to the loud clamours of the Duke of Wurtemberg and the Imperialists, that the emperor, in not having issued the sums he had solemnly engaged to supply them with, had in fact been the first to break the contract. The King of England, having mis-spent much of his time at the sieges of Terouane and Tournay, found the season too far advanced for any further enterprise: and thus was France delivered from a danger more imminent than any it had ever been exposed to from foreign invasion.

Appenzel added to the confederacy.

Before the close of this memorable year the confederacy received its last accession, by the incorporation of the country of Appenzel, as a thirteenth canton. The conditions were nearly similar to those granted to Friburg, Soleure, and Shaffhausen. The federal act was signed on the tenth of December.

The first intimation the Confederates had of the fallacy of the treaty of Dijon, was the discovery that the four hostages, instead of being men of rank, as had been stipulated, were in fact common inhabitants of that city, to whom spurious names had been ascribed, and that the Lord de Mezieres had availed himself of the first opportunity that offered, to make his escape. Soon after they likewise learnt that the king, pretending that la Tremouille was not invested with full powers to accede to so dishonourable a treaty (by which nevertheless his throne had been preserved) had positively refused to ratify it.

CHAP. V.

Although exasperated at this duplicity, they however, being equally incensed against the emperor, who had repeatedly sported with their unguarded simplicity, abstained from an immediate renewal of hostilities; the season moreover, rendering an expedition at this time too arduous, if not impracticable.

1514. The succeeding year was chiefly consumed in intricate and subtle negotiations among the different powers who were interested in the possession of Milan. The policy of Leo the Tenth, who was equally solicitous that neither France, the Emperor, or Spain, should possess that important province, made him alternately promote different combinations among the contending parties, according as they appeared to him most expedient. Lewis, notwithstanding the indignation he had excited by his refusal to ratify the treaty of Dijon, yet, ever aware of the importance of the concurrence, or at least the neutrality of the Confederates, towards effecting his purpose in Lombardy, had recourse to the mediation of the Duke of Savoy, and proposed a new treaty to the cantons. The attempt however, proved abortive, the fulfilling of the capitulation being the only condition to which they would listen. Having failed in this object, he negotiated with the Emperor and the King of Arragon, and obtained from them a cessation of hostilities, which, having moreover made his peace with England,[12] left him at liberty to renew his attempt upon

[12] A Swiss embassy appeared at this time in London. Two deputies dispatched by the cantons, were received with much distinction, and a negotiation was set on foot for an offensive alliance against France; but King Henry hearing that Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had made a truce with Lewis, broke off the conference.—'This is the third time,' said Henry, 'the old fox has deceived me.' He made a peace with Lewis, which was cemented by the marriage of this monarch with his sister Mary.

Milan. Thus were the Swiss once more destined to be the sole defenders of the dutchy of Milan: for though, towards the end of this year, they renewed their alliance with the pope, yet they well knew that no temporal co-operation could be expected from that quarter: and it was no small discouragement to them, when they found that the young Duke Maximilian had given such manifest proofs of his incompetency for the cares of government, as to incur the contempt of his subjects; who moreover, complaining that the Confederates had drained their country of almost all its specie, and assumed an oppressive superiority over them, were far from being well inclined to their cause, and much less disposed than heretofore to assist in repelling an invasion.

On the first day of the succeeding year, one of the most memorable in the annals of the Helvetic Confederacy, died Lewis the Twelfth, a victim to his tenderness and complacency to his young and lovely bride. This event however, did not materially affect the state of public affairs, since Francis the First, his successor, brought with him to the throne a desire no less ardent and stimulating for the acquisition of Milan, than had incessantly goaded his predecessor. The French party in Swisserland, which, notwithstanding its unpopularity, was by no means inconsiderable, made a new effort to restore harmony between the two nations, but still unsuccessfully; an embassy which the king offered to send to the cantons being refused admission, unless he would previously ratify and execute the convention of Dijon. As this measure would at once have invalidated his claim upon Milan, he hesitated no longer in making preparations for war; and these were so formidable that, though their motive, as he al- 1515.

CHAP. V.

ledged, was merely to humble the pride of the Confederates, and to guard against their threatened invasion of his kingdom, both the Emperor and the King of Arragon took such umbrage at their extent, as once more induced them to apply to the cantons for defensive alliances. As no doubt was now entertained of the true destination of the French armament, they promised to send considerable forces into Lombardy, to co-operate with those of the Confederates in the defence of Milan; engagements which, like all the former, they broke as soon as emergencies required the fulfilment of them, or their purposes were answered. The cantons fortified their passes in the Jura, and marched an army into Italy, which, including eighteen thousand volunteers, amounted to at least forty thousand men; a force which, had it been duly supplied with the money that had been promised, and had not, in consequence of this default, dissensions crept in among its different bands, would assuredly have coped with all the power France could have brought out against it. Their leaders, among whom the Cardinal of Sion held a conspicuous place throughout this campaign, thought it advisable to occupy the passes over Mount Cenis and Mount Genevre, the only roads that were then thought practicable between France and Italy; and strong detachments were accordingly stationed at Susa and Pignerol, in hopes of defeating the attempt of the French monarch in its very origin.

Francis having been informed of these preparations, and being well aware that no army he could bring into the field would be able to force the passes, defended by these hardy mountaineers, began to doubt the practicability of his intended expedition. The old and experienced Trivulci however, who

throughout these wars had frequently explored the nature and situation of the chain of mountains that divides the Dauphiné and Provence from Lombardy, apprized the king that he knew of a third pass through which, though with enormous difficulty, his army might penetrate; and stimulated the emulation of the young monarch, by representing to him that, this deed once achieved, his glory would far surpass that of Hannibal, who had crossed the Alps through one of its easiest passes, and without a train of artillery, which he confessed might well be considered as an insurmountable impediment in this arduous enterprise. The pass he indicated led through the mountains of Argentierre and Guillestre, between the Cottian and maritime Alps. The king assembled his forces at Embrun. Although the emperor had promised the Confederates not to suffer the French to raise any troops in Germany, yet above twenty thousand Lansquenets were seen in this army. Three thousand pioneers were employed in blowing up and perforating rocks, and clearing paths, which after all were terrific to behold; and even in constructing stages against the craggy precipices. Along these the soldiers, with incredible labour, dragged their heavy cannon up to the lofty summits, and with still greater difficulty let them down into the opposite valleys. They saw one mountain succeeding to another, one steep rising above others which had appeared insurmountable; and after five days of incessant toil, at length opened upon the plain of Saluzzo, into which they transferred their artillery, and gradually descended their whole army, which meeting with no resistance, spread rapidly to Coni, and Villa-Franca, where la Palice surprised and took a detachment commanded by Prosper Colonna. The Swiss having called in

CHAP. V.

their detachments, and evacuated Turin, the king made his entry into that capital on the eighteenth of August.

The Confederates, who had withdrawn towards Novarra, perceived now that they were once more deceived by their treacherous allies. The Emperor had promised a body of cavalry, but not a single man appeared. Ferdinand, besides the aid he had promised in Italy, had engaged to invade France on the side of Perpignan and Fontarabia; but no sooner had he been assured that Francis was marching his army over the Alps, than he disbanded the forces he had collected in that quarter. The money too that had been promised them by the Pope and other allies was withheld; and want, mistrust, and disappointment, pervading their dispirited ranks, they saw themselves compelled, rather than perish by hunger, to procure sustenance by acts of violence, which spread terror, and raised great clamours against them throughout the country.

These murmurs and disturbances in the Swiss camp did not escape the vigilance of the French King and his wary counsellors; and he conceived new hopes of being able to obtain the object of his expedition, by the peaceful means of negotiation. The Duke of Savoy, the customary mediator between these two nations, opened a conference, in which Francis made such advantageous offers, as, but for the artful insinuations of the cardinal of Sion, would probably have put an end to the war. This crafty prelate, who had personally derived great advantages from the prosecution of the contest, found means so to irritate the Confederates of Schwitz, Uri, and Zug, against the French, that they not only refused to participate in the negotiation, but being firmly resolved to defend Milan, left

the camp and marched into that city, while the others remained behind, still dubious what measures to pursue.

The king, while this negotiation was pending, did not neglect to spread his arms, and to possess himself of many strong places round him, all which surrendered without resistance. At Novarra he recovered the train of artillery which had, two years before, been taken by the Swiss. He occupied Pavia, and detachments of his army advanced to the very gates of Milan. The conferences were once more renewed, under the auspices of the Duke of Savoy. The terms offered by Francis were, that Duke Maximilian, on surrendering Milan, should be created Duke of Nemours, espouse a princess of the royal blood, and hold high and lucrative offices in France: that the king should punctually perform all the pecuniary conditions stipulated in the convention of Dijon, and moreover pay three hundred thousand crowns for the expences of this campaign, and a like sum for the recovery of the Alpine provinces lately ceded to the cantons and the Grisons by Maximilian. This treaty having been duly ratified by the plenipotentiaries of each party at Galera, on the eighth of September, twelve thousand of the Confederates, chiefly of Berne, Friburg and Soleure, prepared for their return, and actually proceeded in their way homewards. They replied to the remonstrances of their countrymen, that they were weary of the treachery of the Italians; that the Viceroy of Naples, who commanded an army of allies on the Po, might long since have joined them, but had evidently kept at a distance, that the whole burden of the war might fall upon them; and that like a vulture he hovered around them, not to assist in, but to profit by the slaughter; that they were resolved not to follow the

CHAP. V.

example of such fallacious friends; but having made an honourable peace with France, were determined punctually to observe its conditions. This retreat being made known, the Spanish, Papal, and Tuscan forces, advanced along the Po, with a seeming intention to protect the Milanese, but chiefly with a view, by this appearance of an intended co-operation, to prevent the total defection of the Confederates. They were followed and kept in awe by a body of Venetians commanded by d'Alviano; but the king, not trusting altogether to this uncertain aid, took post at Marignan, about nine miles from Milan, in order to prevent the junction of the Spaniards with the Confederates who had stayed behind in the latter city, and had recently been joined by a fresh body of their countrymen from Zuric and Zug, under the command of Mark Roust, burgomaster of Zuric.

Battle of Marignan.

The French army consisted of fifty thousand of the choicest troops of the kingdom, with a numerous cavalry, and an artillery which had never yet been equalled in Italy. It was animated by the presence of a young and beloved monarch, and led by the first generals of the age. [13] The country about Marignan, was intersected by many wide and deep trenches, offering great impediments to an invading army. Along the most impassable of these cuts, the French had raised strong ramparts, behind which they had placed their numerous artillery, protected by the Lansquenets and infantry: the cavalry occupying the flanks, were ready to act according to emergencies. The number

[13] Among these were numbered the famed constable of Bourbon, the Duke of Guelders at the head of 10,000 men of his black bands, John Stuart marshal of Aubigny, Tremouille, Trivulci, Lautrec, la Palice, Bayard, Montmorenci, and many others of no less eminence for conduct as well as courage.

of Confederates who remained at Milan amounted to about twenty thousand. Their chief object was to defend the city; but they were now in great commotion, many being eager to come to a decisive action, whilst others shewed an inclination to follow their countrymen who had returned home. The cardinal, at this crisis, stepped forth, and addressing the latter, insisted in the most energetic terms, that by thus deserting the cause they had so publicly and solemnly espoused, they would infallibly expose themselves to the imputation of perfidy as well as cowardice: he figured to them in glowing colours the glory that awaited them if they persisted in their honourable purpose, after the defection of so many of their countrymen: addressing them all, he now reminded them of their past successes, and particularly of their late signal victory at Novarra; and urged them to give another instance that their valour was not to be daunted by an enemy double their number, and ever so advantageously posted behind trenches, bulwarks, and a formidable artillery: he admonished them by no means to wait for the arrival of the allies, who would share in the glory of the victory, without participating in the dangers of the combat: he fired their indignation against the Lansquenets, whom at all times the Swiss held in abhorrence; and having thus roused all their ferocious passions, 'seize your 'pikes,' he exclaimed, 'beat your drums: let us march forth 'to encounter an audacious foe, who, while he seeks to subdue 'the world, must fall a victim to a prowess such as yours'. Many were irresistibly impelled by this forcible remonstrance, and without order or delay, sallied forth towards the enemy's camp. Others however, and at their head the Burgomaster Roust, still shewed an inclination to accept the treaty, and

CHAP. V.

return to their mountains. The cardinal however, persuaded that if an engagement were once begun, these reluctant bands would not forsake their friends and countrymen in the hour of peril, caused repeated messengers to come to the city and report the commencement of an action, and the danger of the Confederates being overpowered by numbers, and cut to pieces: and thus impelled, though the day was now far spent, the whole collected force advanced with such rapidity, amid shouts, loud menaces, and mutual exhortations, that they reached the outposts of the enemy two hours before sunset.

Having formed their array, they soon cleared the ditches, and forcing the ramparts, fell upon the first ranks of the infantry with impetuous fury, and broke their order. Through these they penetrated to the artillery, which being levelled too high, was played off with little effect; and a part of it, together with twelve ensigns of the Lansquenets, fell into the hands of the assailants. But the cavalry, and the king in person, surrounded by a numerous band of nobles, coming to the assistance of the disordered ranks, the conflict became most obstinate and bloody. The approach of night so far from procuring a respite, rather increased the havock, which amidst a horrid din of arms, exulting shouts, and the cries and groans of the wounded and expiring, raged without intermission till the fourth hour after sun set. Lassitude at length compelled a cessation; both parties, as if by mutual consent, suspending their blows, and seeking to rejoin their standards. They were however all intermixed; and many, who, being challenged, could not repeat the counter-sign, still met their doom. The cardinal was for a while in the midst of a party of Lansquenets; but availing himself of his knowledge of the German tongue,

he escaped them, and hastened to some houses then in flames, where several of the Helvetic chiefs were deliberating on the next measures to be taken. They sounded a bugle horn, and by this means called together most of the Confederates who had been till now dispersed throughout the enemy's camp. Here they took some refreshment, which the cardinal had hastily procured from Milan, and waited with impatience for the return of day. But such was the opinion generally entertained of the issue of this conflict, that swift messengers had before morning already hastened to distant parts, to announce a complete victory gained by the Swiss.

The king mean while, and his generals, availed themselves of the obscurity of the night to make a new and more advantageous disposition. The artillery was levelled with more precision, and the forces were collected and stationed in a manner better adapted to the nature of the country. The king hereupon laid his head on a gun carriage, and took some rest; but his courtiers shuddered next morning, when they found that he had slept within fifty yards of a Swiss battalion.

The fourteenth of September had scarce dawned, when the Confederates returned to the charge with redoubled ardor: but the enemy being now better prepared, they met with a much warmer reception. The artillery galled them severely; the cavalry fell on their flanks, and in some places broke in upon their ranks. Still however they gained ground, and expected every instant the palm of victory, when d'Alviano, whom the king had sent for in the course of the night, arrived with his light horse, and fell upon their rear. They still struggled with these accumulated forces; and the carnage was for several hours no less destructive than on the preceding

CHAP. V.

night. But at length, seeing themselves wholly enveloped, and not doubting that the whole army of the Venetians was at hand, they resolved to quit the field. Towards noon they sounded a retreat: they gathered in a close column, placed their wounded in its centre, and having loaded the cannon on their shoulders, marched off the field in a slow and steady pace, and with such defiance in their countenances, that none of the surrounding enemy dared to pursue them, and that this very defeat seemed to prove that they could never again be vanquished [14]. They arrived at Milan before night. The greatest detriment they sustained in this retreat was the loss of a detachment, which having taken refuge in a grange, was burnt to death by the Venetians. On the next day, though the cardinal was still conjuring them to persist in this destructive war, they departed, leaving fifteen hundred men in the castle of Milan; and without any hindrance or molestation, withdrew into their country by the way of Como.

The number of slain has perhaps in no battle been more variously represented than in the present, some writers making that of the Confederates amount to twelve and even fourteen thousand, while others do not estimate it higher than three thousand. The loss of the French has been equally exaggerated and under-rated. An eye witness however on the part of the Confederates, [15] reports that the whole number of slain did not exceed ten thousand; and that it was nearly equal on both sides. This is moreover corroborated by a muster roll of the Confederates after their return, by which it appeared that

[14] Ita tamen (Galli) victoria potiti, ut egregiè pugnando Helvetios magis vicerint, quam eos in posterum ullis viribus omnium opinione vinci posse docuerint. Paul Jov. Histor. L. xv. p. 316. Edit. 1578.

[15] L. Schwickart.

about five thousand of their countrymen had perished in the action. All historians however, agree that few battles have ever been so obstinate, furious, and destructive. The king, impressed with a sense of the magnitude of the danger he had surmounted, ordered masses to be celebrated three successive days on the field of battle, and caused a chapel to be erected on the spot in memory of the victory: and the veteran Marshal Trivulci, discoursing on this event, ever declared that he had been present at eighteen pitched battles; that all except this had been children's play, but that this had been a *battle of giants*. CHAP. V.

The immediate consequence of this victory was the reduction of the whole Milanese by the arms of France. Duke Maximilian, having surrendered himself and the castle of Milan, was conducted into France, where he was treated with more lenity than his late father, and remained in a private station until his death. The king ordered great care to be taken of the wounded the Confederates had left behind them in the hospitals of Milan; and sent to the cantons to apprize them that he was still willing to adhere to the treaty of Galera. This offer was long refused by five of the cantons; and various diets were held, in which the several emissaries of the contending parties used all their skill and endeavours to influence the deliberations. At length however, on the twenty-ninth of November of the succeeding year, a general pacification was concluded at Friburg, by which the French king, as Duke of Milan, ceded for ever to the cantons the possession of the transalpine bailiwicks, and the provinces of Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Grisons, with an option, however, of their surrendering the principal castles in Peace. 1516.

CHAP. V.

those districts to the French king for the sum of three hundred thousand crowns: all the privileges that had ever been held by the Confederates in the kingdom of France, were revived and confirmed: the payments stipulated by the convention of Dijon were ratified, with the addition of a free gift of three hundred thousand crowns to the whole Helvetic body, and an annual subsidy of two thousand livres to each of the cantons, to the Valais, and to the Grison leagues. This compact was declared to be perpetual, and has in fact been the basis of the many leagues that have ever after been made between the crown of France and the Helvetic confederacy: and thus few states can boast to have derived such important advantages from their most splendid victories, as the Swiss have, on this occasion, from a defeat.

In this war the Swiss nation may be considered as having acted as principals: but after the above league we find them repeatedly engaged as auxiliaries with other powers, frequently appearing in the field against each other, and though ever esteemed the best troops in Europe, yet earning a fame which was usually absorbed in the glory of the sovereign or state in whose service they shed their blood. The Cardinal of Sion, who, after the battle of Marignan, had fled to Inspruck, had no ways abated of his inveteracy against France, and persisted with ardour in his attempts to raise fresh enemies to that abhorred monarchy. The emperor who, amidst nuptial festivities at Vienna, had in the preceding year neglected the fair opportunity of keeping Milan out of the hands of Francis, resolved now to make an attempt to wrest it from him. The cardinal, in his name, applied to the Confederates, and particularly to the five cantons that had resisted the alliance with

France, for auxiliaries; and actually obtained a supply of men, whose pay it was agreed should be punctually defrayed out of the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand florins, which the King of England, who had entered into this alliance, had been prevailed upon to deposit at Constance for that purpose. Meanwhile the remaining cantons had already connived at a levy of ten thousand men by Francis, which force was once more collected for the defence of Milan, though now in favour of the prince, from whom they had in the preceding year endeavoured to withhold it. These now appeared against their countrymen who had engaged in the imperial service, but no conflict ensued, in which the blood of the Confederates was shed by their own brethren.

In consequence of a new treaty with France, concluded at Lucern, six years after the preceding one, a body of sixteen thousand Confederates joined a French army in Italy, under the command of the rash and arrogant Marshal de Lautrec, who was now contending with, and had been worsted by Prosper Colonna, who at the head of a body of imperial and papal forces, had actually driven the French out of Milan, and was preparing to restore that dutchy to Francis Sforza, brother to the deposed Maximilian. Lautrec made an attempt to recover the capital, but being repulsed with loss, saw himself reduced to the greatest dilemma. The Swiss became impatient for want both of their pay and sustenance, and very urgent for an attack, in order to extricate themselves from the difficulties under which they laboured. Lautrec, doubtful of the success of an encounter, wished rather to observe and harass the enemy, whose chief force was stationed at the village of Biccoca, a strong post about three miles from Milan. 1522.

CHAP. V.

The Confederates sent their leaders to him to represent, 'that 'their nation had, on repeated occasions, bled abundantly in 'the service of the crown of France; and that yet, contrary to 'all equity and sound policy, they were now deprived not only 'of their stipulated pay, but even of their necessary subsist-'ence: that thus neglected, it was manifest in how little esti-'mation both their valour and fidelity were held: that after 'having now been many days kept in absolute want, they had 'determined to be no longer deluded by empty promises, but 'purposed forthwith to return to their homes: that however, 'in order to evince to the world that they did not quit the 'field from any apprehension of difficulty, or wish to avoid 'an enemy, they were ready and desirous to engage the allies 'the next morning, and on that occasion demanded the post 'of danger; but that on the following day they should, with-'out fail, proceed on their way homeward.'

Battle of Biccoca.

The marshal, having no alternative left, made dispositions for an attack on the morning of the twenty-fourth of February. It was agreed that the strong intrenchments round Biccoca should be stormed by three columns, one of which, consisting of eight thousand Swiss, was to fall upon the artillery. These, slighting the commands of their leaders, rushed up, with more impetuosity than order, to the outworks of the enemy, and bore down every thing before them; but having reached the main intrenchment, they found a ditch so wide and deep, and a rampart so high, that their pikes could no longer reach their opponents. Thus reduced to inactivity, the cannon made a dreadful havock among them, which soon proved fatal to upwards of three thousand of them, among whom were seventeen of their officers. Finding, after re-

peated attempts, that there was no possibility of forcing a passage, and that one of the other columns had been repulsed, while the third had remained inactive, they at length retreated from the unequal conflict, and on the second day after, having received neither pay nor provisions, quitted the army, and returned to their mountains.

Lautrec, on his return to court, never intimated the least blame or suspicion of the fidelity of the Confederates; but openly declared that the failure at the Biccoca was solely to be ascribed to the want of remittances, which, on inquiry, was found to be owing to an artful contrivance of the king's mother, who, either being in want of money for other purposes, or from a hatred to the sister of Lautrec, who was the king's mistress, had detained the sum of four hundred thousand crowns, which had been issued for the army in Italy. From this imputation however, she found means to clear herself, by throwing the blame upon the venerable and guiltless treasurer de Sembleçay, who perished on the scaffold, a victim to the perfidy of a deceitful woman. The brave and loyal Montluc, who was present at this action, seems to have delineated the true character the Helvetic nation had now acquired, when he says, 'the Swiss indeed are excellent warriors, but they must 'neither want money nor provisions: they are not a people 'to be trifled with, or to be amused with fair but empty pro-'mises.'[16] Nor had Francis the First evidently conceived an opinion injurious to their fidelity, since he was ever solicitous to retain considerable numbers of them in his armies, and to have them near him in the hour of danger; insomuch that when, after the disastrous battle of Pavia, he was led across the field,

[16] Comment. T. 1. l. 1. p. 9. Ed. Par. 1617. 8vo.

CHAP. V.

and shewn his Swiss guards all slain, and lying in the regular ranks that had been assigned to them near his person, he observed to the imperial officers who conducted him, 'Had all 'my troops done their duty like these brave men, I should not 'now be your prisoner; you would be mine.'[17] 'The subse-'quent reigns,' says Baron de Zurlauben, and he abundantly proves it in his elaborate military history, 'have sufficiently 'evinced that this people, notwithstanding the most distressful 'want both of pay and provisions, have yet proved inviolably 'true to their engagements, although the princes they served 'were far from making good the conditions they had solemnly 'promised to fulfil.'

Such is the representation of the conduct of the Confederates in this calamitous war, which may be collected from those of the contemporary writers on whose veracity we can best rely.[18] None of these intimate the least imputation against the honour and fidelity of the Swiss, much less stigmatize them with the opprobious charge of baseness (lacheté) and infidelity, with which some French authors have not hesitated

[17] We must not, for the sake of impartiality, suppress here a passage in Guicciardini, in which he asserts that the Swiss in the battle of Pavia did not behave with their accustomed valour. 'Gli Svizzeri non corrisposono quel giorno in parte alcuna al valore 'solito a dimostrarsi da loro nell' altre battaglie.' It is not improbable that those who bravely fell on their posts near the king's person, were a select band he had chosen for his guards.

[18] *Lauffer* who professes having compiled from all contemporary writers, but more especially from *Lewis Schweickart*, an eye-witness, who fought at Marignan, and was killed at the Biccoca; *Paul Jovius*, of whose history the 15th book is well worth perusing by all who delight in circumstantial details of military operations; *Mezeray*, a French author, who cannot be suspected of partiality towards the Swiss; *Guicciardini*, &c.

to blast the reputation of this artless people.'[19] Should they in fact (as indeed there is great reason to suspect) have been unjustly censured, the fate of the Swiss nation must no doubt appear singularly unfortunate. Harassed and trampled upon in the earlier period of their existence by their feudal lords, and those to whom these lords delegated their usurped authority; they had no sooner, by their valour and perseverance, shaken off their galling yoke, but they were allured into detrimental connexions, perverted from their simple manners, and incessantly distracted and beguiled by their deceitful neighbours, in whose service their blood was profusely lavished. When at length, grown weary of deceit, and tenacious of their rights, they refused to be any longer the dupes of their insidious seducers, a loud clamour is raised against them, and they are, without mercy or reserve, taxed with baseness and treachery. Nor is this all the perfidy they have had to endure from the ally they have ever cherished with the greatest cordiality; the outrage and ingratitude they have experienced in our days from that quarter, being no doubt the completion of a system of extirpation, or at least of subjugation, to which the French appear long since to have devoted this unoffending people.

[19] Gaillard Vie de François I.—l'Art de verifier les Dates, Vol. I. p. 633.

CHAP. VI.

The Reformation.

CHAP. VI.

OF the inconsistency of human nature no instance more striking and extravagant can perhaps be given, than that men, who in general are sufficiently remiss in the performance of their religious duties, should yet, whenever the mysteries they profess to believe are controverted or denied, not only most willingly, but often with impatient ardour, sacrifice their lives and fortunes in support of them; and that the measure of their zeal should for the most part be proportionate to the abstruseness or fallacy of the tenets which are the fond objects of their bigotry. While this may be viewed as a matter of mere surprise, or perhaps commiseration, it must be seriously lamented that a mistaken fervour for the glory of God should at any time have become the cause of bloodshed, cruelty, and a variety of atrocious crimes; and that in particular the Christian dispensation, the distinguishing characteristic of which is peace, forbearance, and good will to all, and which, among innumerable obstacles, rose by the patient resignation and heroic self-denial of its first votaries, should at any period have fomented and authorized cruel persecution, relentless war, and irreconcileable enmity. Such a period is now at hand, when religious dissensions unsheathed the sword, and gave rise to animosities and calamities, which for many years

perplexed and tormented a large portion of the human race; and armed men against each other, who, had they been influenced by the charity which was the basis of their faith, would have reconciled their jarring opinions with soothing toleration, and left the world at peace.

Many of the Confederates, whose reverence for the doctrines they saw clearly announced in holy writ, but whose cold indifference for all the superstructure added by the Roman hierarchy has been above noticed, were, it might well be expected, foremost in adopting and promoting a reformation; and, while it accorded with what they had long deemed an approximation to truth, they were pleased to see it reduced into a doctrinal system, affording a set of precepts by which they might regulate their faith and practice. Others, at the same time, no doubt from conviction, but perhaps more so from the force of habit, and the asperity induced by religious controversies, resisted with stubborn pertinacity what they esteemed a new-fangled innovation: and hence arose intestine troubles in the confederacy, which, though sufficiently calamitous, were not however upon the whole carried to that excess of virulence which stains the annals of several neighbouring states.

Causes of the Reformation.

The gross ignorance of the clergy, and consequently the still greater blindness of the laity, in the middle ages, had now arrived at a pitch which could no longer brave the strictures of unadulterated reason, or abide the emanation of light which, rising from the east, had lately spread abroad in many parts of western Europe. A fond predilection for the subtilties of scholastic philosophy, which, dwelling upon nice distinctions more than upon accurate demonstration, exercise or rather perplex the mind without enlightening the understanding, had

CHAP. VI.

absorbed the ingenuity of most men who pretended to some distinction in the schools of erudition. Hermanus Contractus, a monk of Reichenau, had, in the eleventh century, translated several of the works of Aristotle out of the Arabic, and, by incorporating that philosophy with christianity, may be said once more to have fixed a crown of thorns upon the head of the Saviour. With this chaos of sophisms, which were sanctioned by abundance of academical and pontifical decrees, were combined a pompous display of casuistical divinity, the learned lumber of Duns Scotus, Thomas Acquinas, and others; and a laborious study of ecclesiastical canons, the chief tendency of which was to confer on the Bishop of Rome the unlimited authority of an infallible vicar of Christ. This literary as well as religious despotism however, did not escape the censure and strenuous resistance of men of a different way of thinking. We have seen above with what freedom and intrepidity Arnold of Brescia, and his mystical brethren and followers, dared to animadvert upon the papal tyranny, and to inveigh against the profligacy of the men whose examples ought to have edified and instructed, instead of scandalizing and revolting the multitude committed to their spiritual guidance. Among these jarring antagonists appeared likewise at times a set of quaint allegorists, diffusing newly contrived doctrines and specious precepts, in the captivating shape of oriental tales, enigmas, and a variety of extravagant conceits. These warmed the imagination, but reason remained still uncultivated. The generality of the priesthood did not scruple to acknowledge their deficiency in the most elementary parts of learning. The canons of the collegiate church of Zuric having to notify an election to the Bishop of Constance, confessed that they transmitted it in the hand

writing of their notary, because several of them could not write. In the examinations for holy orders it was deemed amply sufficient that the candidate could read, and tolerably comprehend what he read:[1] even after the reformation had made some progress, the people firmly believed, and the priests confirmed them in the persuasion, that the bells travelled every passion week to Rome to receive fresh baptism; and that the exorcisms of priests could effectually dispel swarms of locusts, and all manner of insects. When, at an assembly of the clergy in the Valais, mention was made of the Bible, only one of the priests had ever heard of such a book: and several, on other occasions, did not scruple to declare, that it would be an advantage to religion if no gospel were extant; and that the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages greatly savoured of heresy.

Had the clergy however, in this unpardonable state of ignorance, maintained a decorum in their conversation and manners, they might still have preserved a degree of respect and influence which would probably have somewhat retarded the progress of the reformation. But the profligacy, even of the heads of the church, had arrived at a pitch which it was no longer possible to tolerate or palliate. Scarcely a vice can be named for which Innocent the Eighth, and Alexander the Sixth, were not notorious. Their examples, it may well be imagined, soon became infectious. An iniquitous attempt to impose upon the credulity of the people of Berne, by a pretended miracle, 1507. though it met with condign punishment, yet left an impression

[1] The report of the examination of Leonard Brun for priests orders, not long before the reformation, was, 'Benè legit, competenter exponit et sententiat, computum ignorat, malè cantat.—Fiat admissio.'

CHAP. VI.

behind it which could never be effaced. The controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary had been carried on with considerable acrimony, chiefly by the Dominicans, who maintained the negative, and the Franciscans, who were strenuous in support of the affirmative. The prior of a convent of the former rule, more zealous than the rest in support of the opinion of his order, devised an expedient by which he hoped to establish conviction. He found means to introduce himself at night into the cell of a lay brother, a simple youth named Jetzer, and personating a soul out of purgatory, implored that he would rescue him, by certain flagellations, from his present state of expiation. The credulous youth complied, and in a second apparition the spectre assured him that he had succeeded. When he was thus possessed with a persuasion of his own sanctity, the Virgin herself appeared to him, and enjoined him to declare that she had actually been conceived in sin, and that her Son was greatly offended with those who maintained that any but himself had come into the world without the stain of original depravity. The monks now found means to administer a strong soporific, and in his sleep inflicted on him the five stigmas with which St. Francis, and other saints, had been dignified; and with these bleeding documents of his veracity they exposed him on the great altar of their church. The youth, notwithstanding his imbecility, had yet conceived some suspicion of the deceit, upon which recourse was had to poison. This danger however, he escaped; the whole fraud became public; and the prior and three of his accomplices, being convicted before the episcopal court of Lausanne, suffered at the stake.

Without dwelling on the many similar, and other yet more

flagrant instances of depravation, which are not disguised even by the ecclesiastial writers of the Romish church, all men must feel a painful conviction when they learn, from the charges that were brought by the citizens of Lausanne against their clergy, that the priests used often, even in the churches, and in the midst of divine service, to strike the persons to whom they bore ill will, some of whom had actually died of their wounds: that they walked the streets at night, disguised in military dresses, brandishing naked swords, and insulting the peaceful inhabitants: and that the frequent rapes, violences, and insults they committed were never punished or even restrained. The following are the words of the eighteenth article: 'we have also to complain of the canons, that they reduce 'the profits of our town brothel, several of them carrying on 'the traffic of prostitution in their own houses, which they 'throw open to new comers of all descriptions.'[2] It is no small corroboration of the merited clamours raised against the clergy, that their own zealous advocate and protector, Charles the Fifth, publicly declared to them, that if their lives had been less reproachable, they would never have had to contend with a Martin Luther.

Owing no doubt, in a great measure, to the taste for solid erudition and correct criticism, which had, towards the end of the fifteenth century, been gradually introduced into the western parts of Europe by the learned refugees from Constantinople, and to the rapid propagation of knowledge, by means of the newly discovered art of printing, the instances now

[2] These charges consist of twenty-three articles, and are given at length in Ruchat's Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse, T. 1. p. xxxii. They are of the year 1533.

CHAP. VI.

became frequent, particularly in Swisserland, of men who publicly, and even in the pulpit, insisted upon the necessity of having recourse to the holy Scriptures for the doctrines and precepts essential for salvation. John de Vesalia preached,[3] 'that men can only be saved by the grace of God and the 'merits of the Redeemer; that only the word of God, and not 'the comments of the fathers, was to be received as the guide 'of our faith; and that all human traditions were fallacious, 'and ought to be rejected.' Even Picus of Mirandola, one of the brightest ornaments of his age, but who was unwilling to be considered as a schismatic, publicly declared in the council of Lateran, that the church stood in absolute need of a reform. The smallest proficient in polite literature must be struck with the freedom with which Erasmus, a very undecided favourer of the reformation, wrote[4] concerning the abuses in the church of Rome, and the immorality and hypocrisy of the regular as well as secular clergy; whereby, at the same time that he was offered a cardinal's hat, he drew upon himself, from the Sorbonne, the appellations of fool, infidel, and enemy of Christ, the Holy Virgin, and the saints. But above all must be here noticed the intrepid Ulric Zwinglius of Wildenhaus, in the district of Tockenburg, who, after pursuing his studies at Berne, Vienna, and Basle,[5] and being appointed parochial priest at Glaris, in more determined and unequivocal terms than any of his predecessors or contemporaries, urged the ab-

Ulric Zwinglius.

[3] At Worms in the year 1470.

[4] See his Colloquia, Moriæ Encomium, Enchiridion Militis Christiani, de Ecclesiaste, &c.

[5] At Basle he, and his friend and constant co-operator Leo Judas, studied under Thomas Wittembach, who was afterwards called as parish priest to his native city of Bienne, and became the principal promoter of the reformation in that town.

solute necessity of investigating the Scriptures, in order to restore the church to its pristine purity. We learn from himself that he began to preach the gospel in the sixteenth year of this century, in which year he was removed to the parish of Einsidlen ; and though many have co-operated with him in the great enterprise, yet having been the first who was willing to be considered as a professed separatist from the church of Rome, he may with reason be considered as the apostle of the reformation in Swisserland.[6] 1516.

By one of those singular combinations of even repugnant causes which abound in history, Pope Leo the Tenth contributed most essentially, though by means diametrically opposite, to the rapid progress and final establishment of the reformation. The taste he encouraged for science, as well as for the polite arts, which, as their principles must be deduced from reason, cannot be cultivated without enlightening the understanding, had diffused such an intellectual light throughout the most flourishing parts of Europe, that the orthodoxy of the day could no longer maintain the implicit sway it had till now been accustomed to assert without control. The incredulity moreover which the pontiff himself frequently betrayed in his moments of relaxation,[7] and the profligacy of his court, which could no longer be disguised or any way excused, were observed with deep concern and disapprobation, even by those who were well inclined to maintain the unity of the catholic church.

[6] He was even prior to the great Reformers in Germany.

[7] In his hours of recreation he would admit two buffoons, disputing before him concerning the immortality of the soul; and after they had used a variety of facetious arguments, he often determined in favour of him who maintained the negative.

CHAP. VI.

But what mostly accelerated the decline of that proud fabric, was no doubt the imprudent use the pope now made of the power he arrogated to himself to pardon the sins of the living, and even to absolve the dead from the punishment due to their transgressions. The enormous profusion of this splendid pontiff, in adorning the city of Rome, in supplying the wants of his rapacious minions, and above all, in increasing the opulence of his house, had so entirely exhausted the treasures of the apostolic chamber, that none but extraordinary means could now be devised to supply the wants, which he was determined not to obviate by a due attention to economy.

1517. Accordingly Cardinal Campejus in England, Angelo Arcimbaldo in Germany, and Bernardino Samson, a Franciscan monk of Milan, in Swisserland, were empowered to distribute, at fixed prices, plenary indulgences for all manner of offences, past, present, and even in contemplation. Had these delegates conducted themselves with common prudence and moderation, it is possible that even this preposterous stretch of apostolical authority might have met with too little opposition to have produced the schism which in a few years divided the Christian world, and became the cause of horrid bloodshed and desolation. Samson crossed the mountains and arrived at Uri in

1518. the month of August: here he met with no resistance; but the market was not productive. He thence proceeded to Schwitz. Zwinglius was at that time at Einsidlen, and publicly declared his abhorrence of the traffic, which he represented as an impious imposture. Samson soon abandoned this unpromising spot, and repaired to Zug, where he exposed his merchandize for sale during three successive days. The concourse of purchasers was so great that it was with much

difficulty many could approach the cross at which the sacred stores were distributed. The produce was no less considerable at Lucern and Underwalden, each of which was now visited in its turn. Berne at first shewed some reluctance to receive the apostolic vender; but the emissaries whom, according to his practice, he had sent before him to bring over by gifts or promises the citizens of some note, soon procured him a favourable admission. He displayed a sacred banner, and with great solemnity celebrated high mass in the great church. To the poor he sold indulgences on paper, each at the price of two-pence: the rich bought them on vellum for a crown; but many, perhaps to procure absolution from sins of greater magnitude, paid far higher prices, even to the amount of five hundred ducats. Jacob de Stein, a Bernese captain, gave the monk a handsome grey palfrey for an indulgence for himself, his whole company of soldiers, consisting of five hundred men, and all his subjects in the seigniory of Belp. On the Sunday before the papal agent left this city, he convened all the inhabitants in the great church, and there declared to them from the high altar, 'that now the souls of all the Berners, 'whenever, wherever, and whichever way they had died, were 'at that moment freed not only from the pains of purgatory, 'but even from the torments of hell; and that they were all 'received into the full beatitude of heaven.'

He proceeded next through several towns in the Argau, and met with various success; but he encountered a powerful opposition at Bremgarten, from Henry Bullinger,[s] the secular

[s] The correspondent of the highly accomplished and unfortunate Jane Gray. See Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. T. III. p. 225. They likewise preserve in the public library at Zuric, an ample collection of original letters to this and other Swiss

CHAP. VI.

priest of the place, who succeeded in preventing his admission into the town. Samson excommunicated this daring antagonist, and threatened to arraign him before the diet of the cantons then assembled at Zuric.

Zwinglius, before the end of this year, had been by the provost and canons of Zuric elected ordinary preacher in their collegiate church; and on his arrival there, on the twenty-seventh of December, declared to them, that, instead of preaching on the Dominicals, as had till then been practised, he proposed to expound the Gospel of St. Matthew, not according to the traditions of men, but conformably to the word of God. His sermons, which attracted a great concourse of people, together with the works of Martin Luther, which were now profusely dispersed throughout the north of Swisserland, chiefly by means of the press of Frobenius at Basle, had by this time propagated in these parts a spirit by no means favourable to the commerce Samson was preparing to establish at Zuric.[9] He came to the gates, but was refused admission; till on declaring that he had matters of importance to communicate from the sovereign pontiff, the magistrates suffered him to enter. He exhibited his full powers before the diet, desired they would send to Rome to certify themselves of their being genuine, and called upon the diet to censure the audacity of Bullinger. His conduct throughout the cantons had in many instances been so reprehensible, that even

1519.

reformers from Hen. VIII. Edw. VI. and Q. Eliz.; as also from Hooper, Grindall, and many other English divines.

[9] Samson, besides this resistance, had also incurred the displeasure of the Bishop of Constance, by having, on entering his diocess, omitted to cause his credentials to be duly authenticated by the ordinary of the see.

those who were best inclined to the established church, knew not how to countenance his demands. He was desired to revoke the excommunication of Bullinger, and then to leave the city; and the diet wrote to the pope to request that he would recall this emissary. Leo complied; but at the same time sent a formal declaration to the cantons, that he had an undoubted right to distribute indulgences, and ordered them to believe it under pain of excommunication.

Abundance of reformers now sprung up in different parts of Helvetia; but in no place was the gospel preached with greater success than at Zuric, where Zwinglius, and his two friends and fellow-labourers, George Stehelin and Jacob Ceporinus, made such progress, that towards the beginning of 1520. the following year, upwards of two thousand of the inhabitants publicly adopted the tenets they inculcated; and very soon after an edict was published in this city, enjoining all the parochial clergy to preach no doctrine but what could be proved by passages of Scripture. This was the first, and no doubt a most important step, which the reformation had now made, not only in this, but in several neighbouring cities and districts.[10]

[10] Among the many divines, who about this time preached the Gospel in the different parts of Helvetia, the following were the most eminent:

At *Zuric*, U. Zwinglius, G. Stehelin, J. Ceporinus, J. Stumpfius.

At *Basle*, J. Oecolampadus, W. F. Capito, J. Luthard, W. Reublin, C. Hedio, C. Pellican.—At *Berne*, B. Haller.

At *Shaffhausen*, S. Hoffman, S. Hoffmeister.—At *St. Gallen*, B. Burgraver, J. Vadianus.—At *Apenzel*, J. Shurtanner, W. Klarer, J. Hess, P. Amstein.

At *Geneva* and *Lausanne*, Fr. Lambert.—At *Bienne*, T. Wittenbach.

In the *Grisons*, J. Burkli, J. Salandroni, C. and J. Bivroni.

At *Lucern*, C. Schmid, O. Myconius.

Leo Judas had succeeded Zwinglius at *Einsidlen*.

It was not unusual at this time for learned men to convert their German names

CHAP. VI.

The higher clergy, as well as the religious orders, particularly the Mendicants, perceiving the progress of a doctrine, which in the end must prove detrimental to the power and influence they derived from the hierarchy, began now to exert themselves with the utmost vigour against the spreading danger, and earnestly called upon the civil power to co-operate with them in repelling the innovations, which they feared their arguments might not have sufficient weight to counteract. The bishops of Constance and Lausanne issued mandates, addressed to the priests and magistrates of their dioceses, exhorting them firmly to adhere to the long established doctrines and ecclesiastical precepts, and to the ordinances of the holy fathers; and devoutly to pray to God for peace and unanimity in his holy church. The former also, or rather his vicar John Faber, wrote to the provost and chapter of Zuric, to recommend to them the strict observance of the bull of Pope Leo, and an edict of Charles the Fifth, against Luther and the new doctrines; adding, that the authors of these new doctrines were undoubtedly actuated by an infernal spirit. These injunctions, from authorities which men had been long accustomed to revere, were not without some effect, and soon called forth a vindication from Zwinglius, which under the title of *Archeteles*,[11] contained, in sixty-nine articles, the polemics of all the points in controversy between the contending parties. Notwithstanding this defence, the diet, which was now met at Lucern, issued, on the twenty-seventh of May, a

into Greek or Latin.—Thus, the true name of *Oecolampadus* was Hausschein; of *Vadianus*, Von Wald; of *Myconius*, Geishauser; of *Megander*, Grosman; of *Melanchthon*, Schwartzerdt, &c.

[11] Beginning and end.

decree strictly prohibiting what was now generally denominated the *new errors*. To this Zwinglius and his associates opposed sundry apologies and justifications; but while the controversy was carried on with much asperity on both sides, the laity, whose respect for the mandates of the established church had of late been much impaired, paid little regard to the ordinances which prohibited their listening to what appeared to them a more rational scheme of religious worship, than that which had hitherto been prescribed to them by their spiritual leaders.

Revolution at Geneva.

The city of Geneva, which in the sequel proved one of the most conspicuous promoters of the reformation, underwent about this time such a political revolution, as greatly facilitated its emancipation from the ecclesiastical subjection, against which it had long contended. When we last adverted to the concerns of this city, it was considered as the metropolis of the second kingdom of Burgundy; and had, by the death of Robert the Third, the last sovereign of that realm, devolved by bequest to the Emperor Conrad the Second, and through him to the empire. We have seen, by several instances, in what manner the embarrassed circumstances, and feeble government of several succeeding emperors, had permitted many of their governors in the cities and provinces to arrogate to themselves an independent, and almost absolute sway, which they exercised under the titles of dukes, counts, and prelates of various denominations. The bishops of Geneva, of whom the series ascends as high as the fourth century, were not neglectful of the opportunities this relaxation of power afforded them, to extend their temporal authority; and they would probably have become no less despotic than the many

(1032.)

CHAP. VI.

ecclesiastical princes in Germany, who derived their supremacy from the same source, had not the counts of the Genevois incessantly struggled with them for the superiority, and in some instances maintained their claims against the interference both of the pope and emperor, who looked upon the prelate as the less dangerous surrogate. While the bishop however, chiefly prevailed in the city, the count was allowed to exert a superior dominion in the surrounding district. The citizens also availing themselves of this contention, did not omit to extend the franchises which they claimed from the times of Charlemagne, and gradually established a municipality, which in the end prevailed both over the count and bishop. A grand council, or general assembly, consisting of all the citizens, a senate of twenty members, a treasurer, and four syndics at their head, annually elected by the council, constituted this magistracy, which, without any concomitant authority, regulated the police of the city,[12] and had a great share in the administration of justice. In addition to all these ruling authorities, the bishop had also his Vidame, and under him a Castelan, who superintended the secular affairs of the see, and determined in the first instance all civil actions, and whose peculiar office it was to cause the sentences of the criminal courts to be executed.

In so complicated and ill defined a government it may well be imagined that abundance of doubts, difficulties, and contests must have arisen. But the incongruity became far
(1290.) greater, when towards the end of the thirteenth century the

[12] The syndics were the supreme magistrates from the setting to the rising sun; they had the custody of the keys of the gates, and the security of the city was entirely committed to them.

Count of Savoy extorted from the bishop the office of Vidame, which he executed by a deputy, who in the sequel became the delegate both of the bishop and the count. Not content with this executive office, which gave them a right to interfere in various concerns of the city, these counts in process of time became also possessed of the county of Genevois, which was purchased from Odo de Villars, the representative of the old race of counts, by Amadeus the Eighth, count, duke, and antipope. He now formed the design, which his successors did not fail to prosecute with unremitted perseverance, to reduce this city into absolute subjection; and in order to obviate the resistance that might be offered by the bishops, it was frequently contrived that the dignity should be conferred on younger branches, often infants, and even illegitimate sons, of that aspiring race.

Had Charles the Third, the eighth successor of Amadeus, been contented with the legal and very extensive prerogatives he possessed in the city of Geneva, there is no doubt that he might have preserved them himself, and handed them down to his posterity; but his whole life was a series of attempts to incroach upon the privileges of the citizens, in which he was seconded by Bishop John, a bastard of Savoy, who, feeble and deformed both in body and mind, surrendered all that the duke thought proper to demand. Charles frequently came into the city with large retinues, and performed acts of severe despotism. He twice entered with an armed force, seized, imprisoned, and put to death several of the citizens against whom he had conceived suspicions, and threw the whole city into consternation and dismay. Berthelier, one of the citizens, seeking some refuge from similar acts of oppression, applied

CHAP. VI.

for, and readily obtained the co-burghership of Friburg; and availing himself of the influence this afforded him, found means to bring about an alliance between this and his native city. The friends of the duke, who strenuously resisted this union, were, from the servility imputed to them, distinguished by the name of *Mamalukes;* whilst the advocates for liberty, who of course inclined to a nearer connexion with the Confederates, and no doubt to the reformation which was gaining ground among them, received the appellation of *Eignots.*[13] Berthelier fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of the duke, and has added to the numerous instances of their folly who think that by destroying an individual they may suppress a cause. The enmity between the duke and the citizens broke out into open war, and continued with alternate success during upwards of six years, when the latter succeeded in forming a permanent alliance with the cantons of Berne and Friburg, which proved an effectual bar against the attempts of the intruding Savoyard.[14] What remained of the Mamaluke faction was banished from the city, and having joined the nobles of Savoy, long after maintained an inveterate animosity against those whom they branded with the appellation of revolters. The bishop, so far from resisting the progress of this spirit of independence, consulted his own security by accepting the freedom of his city, by which means he shared in the protection afforded by the alliance with the two cantons. But the duke neither knew how to moderate his resentment, nor to abstain from hostile attempts; wherein he was eagerly

1519.

[13] From *Eidgenossen,* the German name for Confederates. It is more than probable that the general appellation of *Hugenots* is derived from this mutilated word.

[14] This alliance was signed on the 20th of February, 1526.

seconded by his vassals both of Savoy and the Pays de Vaud, who joined in an association which, some of them having boasted that they would eat up the audacious citizens by spoonfuls, obtained the appellation of the *fraternity of the spoon.* They incessantly harassed the city; nor were they effectually restrained by a peace which the duke was compelled, by the cantons in alliance with Geneva, to conclude at St. Julian on the 1530. nineteenth of October. In the ratification of this peace it was expressly stipulated, that if the duke or his nobles should any ways infringe this compact he should forfeit the Pays de Vaud to the allied cantons; and that if Geneva should be the aggressor, the cantons would relinquish their alliance with that city.

Progress of the Reformation.

Zwinglius, in the mean time, whose object it was to reform the manners of the people, as well as the errors of the church, had incurred much odium among the more considerable of his countrymen, by the severity with which he inveighed against all foreign pensions, subsidies, and military services, which he represented as the fatal sources of the great progress that vice and immorality had of late made among them. Neither could this enmity, nor yet the threats, promises, or caresses of Pope Adrian the Sixth, who had now succeeded Leo,[15] and who alternately used all these means to moderate his zeal, divert him from his fixed purpose of expunging the superstitions and

[15] Leo died December the 1st, 1521. The Cardinal of Sion, after having a second time been driven from his see by the proscription of the mace, died also at Rome, September 30, 1522. His political intrigues, by diverting him from the duties he owed to his clerical functions, were not a little conducive to the progress of the reformation in Swisserland. His countryman and inveterate rival, George de Ober-Sax, died likewise in banishment, at Vevay, about the year 1530. Thus do the machinations of restless and ambitious men, for the most part, ultimately lead to their own detriment.

CHAP. VI.

abuses that had crept both into the church and state. He held frequent disputations with many of the most eminent casuists of the established church, which, as he generally prevailed, gradually paved the way to the abolition of several ecclesiastical rites of modern date. Among these the invocation of saints, the worship of images, the celibacy of priests, and the occasional abstinence from meat, were some of the first that were abrogated by sovereign authority. Baptism was ordered to be administered in the vulgar tongue: permission was given to nuns to quit their convents and marry: some abbeys accepted of secularization: several priests entered into the state of matrimony; and Zwinglius himself soon after sanctioned the practice by his own example.[16] Early in this year the celebration of mass was also abolished by authority of the senate: and Zuric gave evident symptoms of a speedy and complete separation from the mother church.

The other cantons, which still retained their veneration for the ancient establishment, summoned a meeting at Lucern, at which resolutions were framed for reforming certain abuses; but a firm purpose was declared not to stray from the pale of the church. Most of the articles of faith, and the canons and rituals, were solemnly confirmed; but as the tendency of the regulations here made went chiefly to curtail the undue profits of the clergy, by the restraints laid upon simony, the sale of indulgences, the plurality of benefices, and other pious extortions, their proceedings were deemed no less heretical than those of the profane innovators of Zuric. Berne individually ventured to prohibit the concubinage of priests; and, among other obnoxious decrees, they declared that 'whereas

[16] He married Ann Reinhart, a widow, on the 2d of April, 1524.

'men had been unduly burthened by the pope, bishops, and 'other prelates, with heavy exactions for absolutions, matri- 'monial and other licenses, and exemptions from excommuni- 'cation, they not only placed no sort of reliance on similar 'dispensations, but moreover were firmly of opinion that 'whatever could be effectuated by money, could equally be 'brought about without pecuniary retributions.' Notwithstanding these progressive steps, alternate successes were still obtained in several places by the Romish and the Zwinglian parties; and while at Basle the people compelled the magistrates to adopt the renovated doctrines, the council of Berne exacted implicit compliance from some of their subjects, who had by their catholic neighbours been taught to resist what was represented as an impious apostacy. CHAP. VI.

While this spirit of free inquiry, and a tendency for emancipation from arbitrary authority, was thus gaining ground in the northern parts of Swisserland, the central districts, and especially the four original or forest cantons, with that of Zug, ever averse, in their rustic simplicity, to all manner of innovation, continued stedfastly addicted to the doctrines, as well as ceremonies, which had been handed down to them by their forefathers.

The Romish clergy were not the only antagonists with whom Zwinglius and his fellow-labourers had to contend. Thomas Munzer, the apostle of the anabaptists, who, after having, under the specious pretence of Christian humility and self-denial, raised great disturbances, and occasioned much bloodshed in Germany, had at length been expelled from that country, came to Basle, and as he preached a doctrine ever acceptable to the dissolute, and hence more numerous, part of the Anabaptists. 1525.

CHAP. VI.

inferior classes of society (an equality of condition, and the abolition of all temporal authority) he soon found abundance of followers, and intruded himself into most places where the dawn of the reformation and of free inquiry had of late been spreading. Both at Basle and Zuric he, and some of his principal converts, had various public conferences with Oecolampadus, Zwinglius, and others of the more eminent reformers, the issue of which fully authorized the magistrates to proceed with rigour against these daring disturbers of good order and tranquillity. Nor was there much difficulty in suppressing their dangerous innovations, since the moral conduct of the teachers was such as must disgrace every sect which, pretending to reform abuses, is so inconsistent as to countenance, and even encourage, all manner of depravity.

Synod at Baden. 1526.

The catholic cantons, in the following year, insisting on the necessity of some effectual steps, in order to restore peace and unanimity in the country, succeeded, after various fruitless attempts, in convening a general synod at Baden, to which they invited the Bishops of Constance, Basle, Lausanne, and Coire, and which actually met on the tenth of May. Zwinglius, alledging the examples of John Huss, Jerom of Prague, and John Hugli who had lately been burnt as an heretic at Lindau, and being no doubt sanctioned thereto by his superiors, refused to appear at this assembly. Oecolampadus, Haller, and most of the principal promoters of the reformation, came without hesitation. Much clamour was here raised against the intemperate zeal of those who had embraced the new doctrines: the ardour of the Iconoclasts was represented as bordering upon sedition; and many controversial tracts, written with much acrimony, were scattered among the people

by both parties. A general resolution was however, at length agreed to, 'that no innovation whatever should be allowed in 'matters of religion.' In what manner this decree, in which the catholics greatly exulted, was obtained, will not be easily unravelled, since several of the cantons, particularly Basle and St. Gallen, suffered the protesting clergy to continue their preaching; and Glaris and Appenzel, so far from thinking themselves bound by the vote, declared in favour of general toleration; the former place shewing at the same time so accommodating a spirit, that Valentine Tschudi, the parochial priest, agreed to preach the gospel alternately on one Sunday, and to celebrate mass on the other. Coire, and a great part of the Grisons, as well as Thurgau and the Rhinethal, sided with Zuric. Berne saw an open schism within its walls; most of the senators, the canons, the whole Tanners Guild, and many of the other burghers, inclining in favour of the reformation, while the remainder were determined to oppose it. The magistrates however, in consequence of a public debate between both parties, in which the protesting clergy had a decided superiority, on the seventh of February, solemnly 1528. declared in favour of the reformation, and issued an order for its reception throughout the canton. This decree was readily complied with by all except the people of Hasli, who, at the instigation of the Underwalders, took up arms in defence of their ancient creed, and raised an insurrection, which was not quelled until the Avoyer d'Erlach led an ample force among them. This republic immediately after made a separate alliance with Zuric: and these two cantons are henceforth to be considered as the chief supporters of the protestant cause in Helvetia. Prompted by a fervent zeal, they not only screened,

CHAP. VI.

countenanced, and cherished all converts who thought proper to recur to their protection, but likewise sent missionaries into all parts to propagate the doctrines which they firmly believed to be the genuine emanation of the will of God. The cities of Shaffhausen and Basle, and a part of the cantons of Glaris and Appenzel, soon after accepted likewise the doctrines which were henceforth denominated *Evangelical.*

Zwinglius's Dispute with Luther 1529.

Hitherto we have seen Zwinglius engaged in disputes with open and decided opponents, over whom he found it no difficult matter to prevail; but we have next to notice his more arduous controversies with one whom, though he cherished him as a brother, and revered as one of the first champions of true religion, he was yet doomed ever after to consider as a formidable antagonist. The article of faith, in which he essentially differed from Martin Luther, was the true meaning of the words used in the institution of the Lord's Supper, the latter adopting them in a strict literal sense, while Zwinglius considered them as merely symbolical. At the desire of Philip Landgrave of Hesse, they, in the month of September, held a conference at Marburg, in the presence of the most eminent divines who had separated from the church of Rome; where, though each persisted in his opinion, they yet parted with cordial assurances of mutual regard and friendship. How sincere these were on the part of Luther may be gathered from a declaration issued by him soon after, relating to the sacrament, in which, besides reprobating the opinion of Zwinglius with some asperity, he severely censured him for having advanced, what he himself had once admitted, 'that virtuous 'heathens might partake of eternal salvation.'

Dissensions

Notwithstanding the great number of conciliating steps that

among the cantons.

had been taken, the multitude of theological conferences, and the abundance of polemical discussions that were published, the detail of which must be sought for in the profusion of ecclesiastical writers who have treated on the subject of the reformation, other motives, besides the purity of the doctrines, gave rise to feuds and animosities which could not be composed without an appeal to the sword. On the death of an abbot of St. Gallen, the cantons of Zuric and Glaris, who, together with Lucern and Schwitz, had the advocacy of that abbey, took some steps towards its secularization, which greatly irritated the co-advocates. The two latter not only put every obstacle in the way of the reformation within their districts, but laid violent hands on some of the burghers of Zuric whom private concerns had brought among them, and even caused one of the preachers of the gospel to be burnt alive. Their endeavours could not however, prevent the progress of the evangelical doctrines in many of the districts held jointly by several cantons, particularly in those denominated the free bailiwicks on the Reuss: and this defection in matters of religion raised an apprehension in the catholic co-sovereigns, that an alienation in point of civil allegiance would necessarily follow, which in the end must prove highly detrimental to their supremacy. Prompted by such motives of interest, the five catholic cantons[17] not only entered into a separate and intimate union among themselves, and with the Valais, for the common defence of their respective territories, but also strengthened themselves by alliances with the pope and the

[17] The ancient cantons of Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, Lucern, and Zug. Glaris and Appenzel continued likewise true to the Romish church, but, being new cantons, had less influence in the public concerns of the confederacy.

CHAP. VI.

King of Spain. The resentment entertained by Berne against the Underwalders, on account of the countenance they had given to the people of Hasli against their lawful sovereign, proved also an additional cause of enmity, which displayed itself this year, when the senate of the former canton thought fit to refuse admission to the bailiff whom Underwalden had in its turn appointed to the city of Baden. Zuric joined in this opposition, while Lucern, Uri, Schwitz, and Zug, took vigorous measures to assist their ally in inforcing the appointment.

The report of these preparations having reached Zuric, this canton immediately sent forces to the free bailiwicks and Bremgarten, and took possession of the abbey of Muri. All the other cantons, and even Berne, exerted their utmost endeavours to prevent an open rupture. Zuric published a manifesto, wherein it declared that it had offered an arbitration to Lucern, which had been rejected; that the five cantons had seized the town of Rapperswyl, that they had called in foreign aid, and that hence it was legally authorized to demand the assistance of the other cantons. All hopes of reconciliation being thus vanished, Berne found it necessary to provide for its own security by strengthening its frontiers; and raised a body of men to join the forces of Zuric, in case of necessity.

Hostilities.

The army of Zuric took post on the ninth of June, near the convent of Cappel. Zwinglius, who was no stranger to the din of arms, having been present, in the quality of chaplain, at the battles of Novarra and Marignan, desired to attend this expedition in the same capacity, but was refused, the senate being unwilling to expose a life which they deemed of so much consequence. He nevertheless, regardless of the denial, mounted

his steed, grasped a spear, and followed the camp. An eye-witness wrote from this camp, 'It is admirable to behold 'what order and subordination prevails among the mul-'titude: the word of God is preached daily by Ulric Zwing-'lius, the Abbot of Cappel, the priest of Kussnacht, and many 'other learned divines: not an oath is pronounced, not a quar-'rel is heard of; we pray before and after each meal; no 'cards or dice are ever seen; not a prostitute is tolerated; we 'sing, dance, and practise manly sports; and are eager to 'encounter the *pensioners*.'[18]

The forces of the five cantons were at Baar, about midway between Cappel and Zug. Both sides were preparing for a fierce encounter when the deputies of the neutral cantons, and even of the cities of Constance and Strasburg, who were indefatigable in their endeavours, at length succeeded to soften the rancour of the principal leaders in both parties. On the twenty-sixth of June a treaty was concluded, in which it was agreed, that no one should henceforth be controlled in matters of religion; that in the districts of joint sovereignty, each community should choose its creed by the majority of votes; that the five cantons should renounce their alliance; and that Underwalden should indemnify Berne for the damages it had occasioned in the affair of Hasli. Thus ended the first war of Cappel. But the tranquillity this peace procured was of short duration; both parties being more actuated by the impulse of an ardent and inflexible zeal, than by the dictates of sound policy or christian charity.

[18] Zwinglius had prevailed upon his countrymen to abolish pensions; an example which the other cantons, particularly the catholic ones, had not imitated.

CHAP. VI.

1530.

This respite, however short, proved nevertheless greatly conducive to the advancement of the Reformation. Numbers of the inhabitants of Thurgau, the Rheinthal, and even of Wettingen, Rheinau, and other abbeys declared in its favour; and in the canton of Soleure no less than thirty-four communities adopted its spreading doctrines. In the city of this canton the proselytes were few in number, and these, having met in a remote house, either for worship or deliberation, a multitude of bigotted catholics assembled, seized a field piece, and pointed it against the dwelling. The Avoyer Wengi arrived in time to prevent the intended havock. He forced his way through the crowd, placed himself before the mouth of the cannon, and called out, 'if you are determined to shed the 'blood of your fellow citizens, you shall begin with mine.' Abashed and struck with admiration, the zealots withdrew; and through the provident interference of this generous magistrate, the animosity between the two parties was for a time happily suspended.

Meanwhile many synods and religious conferences were held at St. Gallen, Constance, Frauenfeld, Stein, and other places, at all which Zwinglius appeared in the most conspicuous light. He visited in his journies the vassals of the abbey of St. Gallen in the Tockenburg, and brought over the greatest number of them to his persuasion. All the Confederates who had embraced the Reformation, about the same time, entered into an alliance with the Landgrave of Hesse and the city of Strasburg; and what must appear singularly inconsistent, Francis the First, who was exterminating the Hugenots in his kingdom by sword and faggot, desired, though in vain, to be admitted into this union. The landgrave was very

urgent that the evangelical cantons might be received in the league of Smalkalden, by which the protestant cause had received a firm consistency; and this would have been effected had not the Elector of Saxony, a zealous adherent of Luther, insisted that the cantons should implicitly adopt the tenets of that inflexible reformer. The cantons declined the offer; and this schism, together with the tendency of the new doctrines to deprive the higher clergy of their enormous emoluments, were no doubt among the principal causes which prevented the Reformation from being more universally adopted.

The rapid progress however, which it made in most parts of Swisserland called forth the spleen and resentment of those who preserved their attachment to the church of Rome. The five cantons in particular learnt with the utmost indignation that, at a diet held at Zuric on the twenty-second of May, the 1531. reformed cities had, against the declared opinion of Zwinglius, who never ceased to preach and recommend forbearance, resolved to break off all communication with them, and even to deprive them of the necessaries of life, which they derived from those cities. After some negotiations and fruitless attempts towards an accommodation, these cantons published a hostile declaration against Zuric. They formed a camp at Zug, and sent detachments to ravage the free bailiwicks. Zuric was dilatory and undecided in its preparations. Zwinglius, who now saw the urgency of the case, found great difficulty in persuading the senate, and Rudolph Lavater the military commander, to call together the forces of the canton. A small party was sent out to meet the enemy, whose numbers had by this time increased to upwards of eight thousand; but this party was ordered not to hazard an engagement. On

CHAP. VI.

the tenth of October the senate at length ordered the great banner to be brought forth; but instead of four thousand men, who were wont to accompany it, only seven hundred marched out. Zwinglius, by order of the magistrates, attended them as chaplain. This detachment hastened, with all possible speed, over Mount Albis, the distant report of cannon having apprized them that the least delay might prove fatal to their friends who had preceded them. Some, either from cowardice or disaffection, exclaimed, that they could not possibly arrive in time, and that they were resolved not to proceed. 'As to 'me,' said Zwinglius, 'I will, in the name of God, advance 'and join our brave countrymen. I will either assist in rescu-'ing them, or perish with them.' At three in the afternoon the banner arrived at Cappel, the whole force of Zuric consisting now of about two thousand men.

Battle of Cappel.

Early on the next morning the catholic army drew out in complete armour and close array. The leaders of Zuric deliberated in council whether they should abide their approach or withdraw. Rudolph Gallman, of the free bailiwicks, stepped forward, and stamping his foot on the ground, 'this,' he cried, 'this shall be my grave. God forbid that I should ever yield 'one single step to an enemy.' The cannonade began at noon: the Zurichers avoided its first effects by falling on their faces: they then rose, and maintained an obstinate fight for upwards of two hours; after which about three hundred of the most intrepid among the enemies forced into the midst of them at a time when they were endeavouring to form into two columns: some fled instantly, and threw the remainder into confusion. A person from the catholic army came among them, and personating one of their own number, represented to them the

impossibility of making an effectual stand, and exhorted them to retire. They followed his advice, and were pursued till night, with much slaughter. The triumphant foe hereupon returned to the field of battle, fell on their knees, thanked the holy virgin, and all the saints, for their victory, and concluded their devotions with a pater-noster and ave-mary: they then sacked the camp of the Zurichers, and with horrid imprecations put to death the wounded, who had been left behind. A few, less inhuman than the rest, took some of them prisoners, dressed their wounds, and, the night being intensely cold, chafed them near a fire. Zwinglius was among the wounded. He had been stunned and thrown down by a shower of stones, and trampled upon by the fugitives and their pursuers: he recovered several times, but was too much exhausted to support himself. In his last effort he raised himself on his knees, and called out, 'they may indeed kill the 'body, but they cannot destroy the soul;' and then, with clasped hands, and eyes uplifted to heaven, he once more fell backward. A catholic soldier observing his quivering lips, offered to bring him a confessor, to which he nodded dissent. A captain of Underwalden, who came by at the moment, fired with holy indignation against the obdurate heretic, pierced him through the neck. Thus fell Ulric Zwinglius; a man whom all parties allow to have possessed an heroic spirit, a greater degree of moderation than fell to the share of most of the other reformers, uncommon sagacity, combined with profound and extensive learning, and a refined taste: he was ever averse to compulsive measures, but at all times willing to hazard his life in support of his firm persuasion. His manners were affable and conciliatory; he was a friend to cheerfulness

Death of Zwinglius.

CHAP. VI.

and innocent mirth; and though indulgent to others, yet severely rigid towards himself. The conquerors exulted in his fall: they caused his body to be quartered by the hangman of Lucern, and to be burnt; and lest his ashes should become an object of veneration to his followers, they mixed pieces of hog's flesh with his mangled limbs. With him fell also fifteen other learned divines, whom their sense of duty had brought into the field. Bullinger, who has given a list of all who perished on the part of Zuric, makes their number amount to five hundred and twelve. The catholics, according to some, lost only eighty, and to others, about two hundred men.

Pacification.

Zuric sent out fresh forces, which were joined by reinforcements from Berne, Basle, Shaffhausen, and other places: but their leaders were at variance, and discipline was wanting among the troops. They met with fresh disasters, and the city was at length compelled to sue for a separate peace. A treaty was accordingly negotiated, and signed on the sixteenth of November. Each party was therein confirmed in the free exercise of its religion: Zuric agreed not to afford any protection in religious matters to the joint bailiwicks; and the indemnification the five cantons claimed for the expences of the war was referred to the general pacification, that still remained to be concluded with Berne. It was stipulated, that perfect unanimity and concord should be restored, and that in any future differences the law of arbitration should be recurred to. The troops of Zuric now returned to their homes; and the whole burden of the war devolved upon Berne.

The Berners, who had never carried on the war with any vigour, lost no time in accepting terms similar to those above specified. To these were added, that they should pay three

thousand crowns to the five cantons, for the damages they had occasioned to the abbey of Muri and some other religious houses; that they should exempt Underwalden from all further claims concerning the affair of Hasli; and that the expences of this war, amounting to five thousand crowns, should be paid jointly by Berne and Zuric. This treaty, as well as the former one, was concluded by the mediation of the King of France, the Duke of Savoy, the Margrave of Baden, and some of the neutral cantons, and was signed on the twenty-second of November. It is generally acknowledged, that had the cities unanimously persevered, and kept the field a few days longer, the catholics would have been compelled, by want of provisions, to accept any terms the former would have been pleased to prescribe.

The Progress of the Reformation retarded.

This unfortunate issue of the war greatly retarded the progress of the Reformation. The Abbot of St. Gallen, who, with his monks, had deserted the abbey, was reinstated, and received from his city an indemnification of ten thousand florins. The images were replaced, and the celebration of mass was re-established at Baden, Bremgarten, Mellingen, Rapperswyl, and many other places of joint sovereignty: many communities in Thurgau relapsed to the Romish confession; and the catholic cantons soon after renewed their alliance with the bishop and republic of the Valais. Discouraged by the late calamities, and still more bewildered by the loss of their principal teachers, even many of the burghers of Zuric, secretly relinquished the doctrines they had lately embraced with fervor; and this defection, which could not escape his vigilance, revived the sanguine hopes of Ennius the pope's nuncio, that this city might once more be reclaimed to the papal

CHAP. VI.

supremacy. With a view to promote this object, by deterring those who might still be inclined to counteract it, he brought about an alliance between the catholic cantons, the pope, and the emperor; and flattered himself that, by the powerful interposition of the latter, the Reformation in Swisserland would not only receive an effectual check, but perhaps be wholly suppressed. His fond hopes however were disappointed by an invasion of the Turks in Hungary, which compelled
1532. Charles the Fifth to consent to a peace with the protestants, that he might be at liberty to protect his eastern frontiers against the unexpected enemy.

The anabaptists made fresh attempts to introduce their doctrines in various parts of Swisserland; and at Soleure the prevailing party, which was firmly attached to the church of Rome, with a view to create dissensions among the protestants, insidiously connived at the unwearied endeavours of these sectaries. This canton had, conformably with its treaties, assisted Berne in the war of Cappel, and at its fatal termination, the five cantons demanded that it should either pay one thousand florins towards the damages they had therein sustained, or consent to banish all the dissenting preachers out of their city and territories. The reformed party being unable to prevail in favour of the former alternative, was reduced to the rigorous option of either renouncing their faith, or abandoning their country. They rose in arms in considerable numbers; but rather than shed the blood of their fellow citizens, they forsook their wives, children, and property, withdrew voluntarily out of the city; and being persecuted by the catholic, and but feebly protected by the protestant cantons, dispersed themselves in different parts of the country, and

ended their days in poverty and solitude. The city, and the whole canton, one or two villages excepted, returned to their conformity, and have ever since acknowledged the authority of the Roman pontiff.

The canton of Berne, where the reformation had most firmly maintained its ground, and the canton of Friburg, which had ever steadfastly adhered to the church of Rome, were joint sovereigns over Granson, Orbe, and some other districts in the Pays de Vaud, where various contests arose concerning matters of religion, which could not be terminated without compulsive expedients. William Farel, a native of Gap in Dauphiné, who had early embraced the doctrines of Zwinglius, came, with the consent of the government of Berne, to preach the gospel in these parts. At Orbe, he met with vehement resistance, chiefly from the women, who, being fascinated by the personal comeliness and insinuating manners of Juliani, a young Franciscan friar, thought his doctrines infallible, and were near inflicting on the reformer the treatment Orpheus is fabled to have experienced from the Bacchæ. Juliani was one day inveighing in the pulpit against the marriage of priests, when one of the inhabitants, named Hollard, publicly reprehending his virulence and misrepresentations, was assailed by the bigotted females, and it was with difficulty he escaped the effects of their vindictive rage. Berne at length obtained a joint decree, that both Farel and Juliani should be allowed to preach without molestation; but that both should carefully abstain from scurrilous invectives. There are documents however extant, which prove that even fratricide is to be numbered among the crimes that were committed at Orbe in consequence of the religious

William Farel.

CHAP. VI.

animosities which at this time agitated the inhabitants. Farel proceeded next to hold out the torch of the reformation throughout the neighbouring country; but in many towns and districts held in common by Berne and Friburg, the gospel of peace could not prevail without many bursts of rancorous strife and insurrection.

Reformation at Geneva.

The spirit of freedom and independence, which had been introduced at Geneva by the emancipation and security the citizens had lately obtained, chiefly by means of the peace of St. Julian,[19] had paved the way for the change that was now to be effected in their religious institutions. Several papers, reflecting upon the pope and his clergy, had been publicly affixed in many parts of the city, in consequence of which various encounters took place between the priests and the citizens, which did not all terminate without bloodshed. The

1532. minds were thus disposed when Farel arrived, and was immediately conducted to a public place, and required to preach to an assembled multitude. One of the canons, clad in armour, led on a party of zealous catholics, and attempted to disperse the congregation; but he lost his life in the tumult his rashness had excited, and his death caused a general commotion

1533. in the city. Although the two parties seemed nearly of equal strength, yet Farel thought it expedient to quit the city: but he left behind him a spirit of toleration, which the clergy in vain endeavoured to suppress. The magistrates soon after permitted the printing of the Bible in the vulgar tongue; and the people of the evangelical persuasion calling loudly for a preacher, John Guerin, a stocking weaver, a man of acknowledged piety and good repute, undertook the office, and was the

[19] See p. 137.

first who, in a garden, administered the sacrament according to the ritual prescribed in the gospel.

Various conspiracies were now formed to assassinate the principal promoters of the new doctrines; but they were all detected and frustrated. Two merchants of Friburg, who happened to be at Geneva, mediated between the parties, and brought about an accommodation, in which it was, among other things, stipulated that nothing should be taught in the pulpit but what could be clearly proved by passages in holy scripture; a clause which effectually secured the victory to the reformed. Insurrections however, succeeded each other rapidly. One of them proved fatal to the Canon Wernli, a native of Friburg; and this canton, resenting the insult, demanded of the magistrates of Geneva that they should forthwith send for the bishop, in order to take cognizance of this offence. The prelate arrived, and his surrogate immediately caused nine or ten of the suspected delinquents to be seized: but the senate insisted upon their being released, alleging that being citizens they could only be tried by their peers. The bishop, highly offended at this contumacy, immediately withdrew, and never after held his residence in Geneva. The murderer of the priest was soon after sentenced to death; but the episcopal commissary, not satisfied with the mode of proceeding, insisted upon an appeal. The syndics answered firmly, 'how can there be an appeal, since we acknowledge 'no superior?'

The alliance between Geneva and the cantons of Berne and Friburg, to which that city in a great measure owed its independence, frequently brought its senate into most perplexing dilemmas. A Dominican monk, named Furbitty, had publicly,

CHAP. VI.

in the pulpit, used abusive language against the *Germans*, the name by which the reformed were at this time distinguished at Geneva. Berne resented the insult, and demanded redress, while Friburg espoused the cause of the monk. Berne declared that if denied, they would instantly cancel their alliance: and Friburg gave notice, that if the senate complied, their union should be dissolved. A theological disputation was upon this ordained at Geneva, between Furbitty and Farel, which was followed by another insurrection, in which a poor hatter, of the reformed party, was killed in his shop. The syndics, supported by a great majority of the citizens, who loudly exclaimed against the machinations of the priests, proceeded now with vigour. They seized two of the ringleaders, one of whom, a shoemaker, they immediately beheaded: the other, named Portier, maintained that, holding an office under the bishop, he was amenable to none but the episcopal court; but many papers having been found upon him, some signed by the Duke of Savoy, and others by the bishop, which clearly implicated them in a plot, to which this insurrection was to be the preparatory step, the senate, regardless of all the intercessions that were made in his favour, caused the unfortunate accomplice to be hanged, and Furbitty to be closely confined. A number of the reformed citizens, unsanctioned by the magistrates, led Farel into the Franciscan convent, where he began to preach, first in a room, and soon after in the church. The senate winked at the unauthorized proceeding: but Friburg annulled their league; and by this means afforded to Geneva a freer scope for the reformation, since it had no longer to pay any deference to the dictates of that bigotted ally.

The bishop repaired to the Duke of Savoy at Chambery,

and there concerted with him an hostile attempt upon the city, which was intended to be carried into execution on the thirty-first of July. The senate obtained intelligence of the plot, and ordered all the citizens to be under arms the whole night preceding the appointed day. Those of the catholic party who remained in the city, found it necessary to shut themselves up in their houses; and, for want of their co-operation, the project proved abortive. The bishop upon this had recourse to his spiritual weapons: he excommunicated near two hundred citizens, confiscated their property, and transferred his episcopal seat to Gex. The senate, on account of this removal, declared the see vacant, and required the chapter to elect a grand vicar and other officers, for the administration of the temporalities of the bishoprick. The canons knew no better way of extricating themselves from this dilemma than by destroying the principal reformers, Farel, Viret, and Froment. They called in for this purpose a woman who had already poisoned a young Genevan at Lyons, and who, under pretence of being a convert, was introduced as cook into the house where Farel and his friends lodged and boarded. On the day when she had mixed poison in the victuals, Farel and Fromont fortunately dined from home; but Viret partook of the noxious viand, and perished. The woman confessed her guilt, named one of the canons as her accomplice, and suffered the punishment due to so heinous a crime.

Most of the catholics, who had remained at Geneva, found it now eligible to withdraw; and great numbers of them took refuge in the episcopal castle of Peney, about six miles from the city. Hence, assisted by troops from Savoy, and the nobility of the Chablais and the Pays de Vaud, they not only

CHAP. VI.

ravaged the small district belonging to the republic, but frequently insulted its very gates. Berne having declared that they could not afford any assistance, and having none to expect from Friburg, the senate had recourse to Francis the First; who, though a bitter enemy to the protestants, yet, being at variance with the Duke of Savoy, willingly embraced what appeared to him a favourable opportunity of reducing the power of a neighbour, whom he had long wished to humble. The subsequent year was chiefly spent in preparations, during which Farel preached in most of the churches of the city, while the populace, with great tumult and savage exultation, removed and destroyed all the images and pictures that had hitherto been the objects of their devotion. On the twenty-seventh of August, the senate solemnly declared that the protestant should henceforth be considered as the established religion of Geneva.

1535.

Berne and Friburg acquire the Pays de Vaud.

1536.

Early in the next year the Berners, authorized as they alleged by the duke's infraction of the treaty of St. Julian, declared their intention of marching to the assistance of that city; and, whether motives of patriotism preponderated over those of religion, or the prospect of territorial acquisitions was held out to them, even Friburg and the Valais were prevailed upon to join in the expedition. In vain did the other Confederates endeavour to prevent the impending hostilities. The whole Pays de Vaud, the country of Gex, and the Chablais, were over-run in less than a fortnight.

The city of Lausanne, whose bishop had, like that of Geneva, gone over to the duke, surrendered to the Berners, who appropriated to themselves all the rights and prerogatives of the see, converted the bishoprick into a college, and assigned

all the revenues of the religious houses to the maintenance of hospitals, churches, and schools. The Reformation was introduced into this city, not altogether without compulsive means; those of the citizens, who persisted in rejecting the new doctrines, being ordered to withdraw, though not without their property. The bishop henceforth took up his residence at Friburg. The conquered districts were consigned to the government of bailiffs, appointed by Berne, Friburg, and the Valais. The duke, who could by no means reconcile himself to the loss of such important territories, lost no opportunity of renewing his demands for their restitution, or attempting their recovery by force; but all this was without effect, until the other confederate states interfering, a treaty was concluded, according to which the Chablais and the district of Gex were restored; but Berne and Friburg retained the Pays de Vaud, with all the ecclesiastical and feudal jurisdictions thereto belonging.[20] Thus did this valuable and most romantic province, the last within the natural limits of Helvetia which had not yet been incorporated in the confederacy, become at length a part of the Helvetic body; and this is the last territorial acquisition made by this unambitious people.[21] The Valais retained

[20] The cession was made by Duke Emanuel Philibert in the year 1564; and was confirmed in 1617, by Duke Charles Emanuel. This treaty has in our days been an object of great controversy, and has afforded a pretence to the French republic to espouse the cause of the disaffected in the Pays de Vaud against their legitimate sovereign. See Chap. X.

[21] The county of Gruyeres was redeemed from the creditors of Michel, the last count, by the cantons of Berne and Friburg, and converted into bailiwicks dependent on them. This transaction happened in the year 1554; but we do not deem this a new acquisition to the confederacy, since the counts may be considered as having been previously members of the Helvetic body.

CHAP. VI.

nothing of its conquests; and all that Geneva reserved in the treaty was the prerogatives of the Vidamy, the revenues of the bishoprick, and those of the abbey of St. Victor, which they appropriated to the maintenance of the clergy and the hospital.

Notwithstanding the formal declaration of the senate of Geneva in favour of the Reformation, neither its dogmas, precepts, or ecclesiastical discipline, were as yet so accurately defined as to preclude all doubt and controversy, and afford a rule of faith and practice, to which the people might adhere with confidence. The eminent service of arranging an establishment appears to have been reserved for John Calvin, a native of Noyon in Picardy, who, with his brother Anthony, flying from persecution in France, came accidentally to Geneva in his way to Basle, where, or at Strasburg, he meant to establish his abode. He was detained by Farel, who perceiving in him the transcendent mind and firmness of character which in these times were indispensably necessary, caused him to be named professor of divinity at Geneva. He attended several theological disputations, both there and at Lausanne, and drew up a catechism which he proposed for general acceptance; but this, not agreeing precisely with the opinions adopted by many of the citizens, excited murmurs, in consequence of which he, Farel, and a third minister, named Courault, who all three had refused to administer the sacrament, both on account of this noncompliance, and the corruption of manners which still prevailed among the people, were ordered to leave the city. The disorders, both religious and civil, increasing now to a degree which those at the helm were no longer able to control, and the better part of the

John Calvin.

1537.

1538.

citizens could not but reprobate, the senate and people came to a general resolution to recal Calvin, who was accordingly intreated to return, and to take upon him the administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of the city. He was at Strasburg when he received this invitation. With much hesitation, and to the great regret of the magistrates of that city, he at length accepted it; and arriving at Geneva, on the thirteenth of September, was received with great demonstrations of joy 1541. and exultation. He now drew up a form of prayer, several articles of church discipline, and even various municipal regulations, as far as they related to religion, which, together with an enlarged catechism, were readily accepted: and, in conjunction with Farel and Bullinger, he established the Confession 1549. of faith which has since been adopted by all the protestant churches of Helvetia and Rhætia. His asperity against the Spanish Arian, Michael Servetus, who, after he had been condemned by various tribunals, took refuge at Geneva, and was by Calvin denounced to the magistrates, and whom, after a formal hearing, they condemned as an obdurate heretic, and sentenced to the stake, is an incident in the life of Calvin which his best advocates are at a loss to extenuate. Few characters so moderate as Zwinglius and the mild and benevolent Melancthon, are to be met with, even among the reformers: nor is it to be wondered that in an age of incessant strife and warm debate, when, amidst the investigation of truth the worst passions of men were let loose against each other, even the most temperate should have yielded to a bias in favour of severity, which at that time may have appeared necessary and meritorious, but in days more tranquil must be deemed rancorous and oppressive. Calvin, after having been concerned

CHAP. VI.

in the establishment of many churches in France, Germany, England, and Poland, and having committed his flock, as well as pupils, to his friend and disciple Theodore Beza, closed his indefatigable career on the sixth of February; and left behind him in the city, which had been the principal theatre of his exertions, a reputation for piety, learning, and wisdom, which has fallen to the lot of scarcely any among his fellow labourers.

1564.

Waving the merits of the reformers in a religious light, which come within the province of ecclesiastical or polemical writers, they are no doubt entitled to the highest commendation for the improvements in temporal matters which they effected in their respective districts. They were, in fact, no less conspicuous as legislators, magistrates, and statesmen, than in the pulpit, the cathedra, or their libraries. The improved prosperity of the countries they had reformed became manifest. Population increased, not only by the abolition of the restrictions laid by the church on matrimonial engagements, but also by the many emigrants who sought refuge in these happy retreats, from the religious as well as civil oppressions that prevailed in other countries. Agriculture, manufactures, and sciences, made a rapid progress. The reformers could not have maintained their ground in their numberless controversies with the most learned divines of the Romish church, had they not possessed more than common erudition in the classics, oriental literature, logic, eloquence, and in the rules of sound criticism. Men of eminence in various branches of learning made also their appearance about this time, and no doubt contributed essentially to the general cultivation of reason. As historians of more than ordinary merit, we have to

name Tschudi, Stumpfius, Simler, and Bullinger: as observers of nature, Bauhin, Zwinger, Wolf, and Conrad Gesner. Philosophy and the Muses were not neglected; but their votaries consecrated their best labours to the altar. Even the dramas of Ruoff and Manuel were of a religious cast; nor were any suffered, which, while they pretended to discourage vice, afforded pernicious lessons of intrigue and gallantry. But to the abolition of convents, and the restraints laid upon foreign services and stipends, which the reformers recommended, and the protestant cantons now enforced, must chiefly be ascribed the happy reform gradually brought about in the public morals, which, through the neglect of the Romish clergy, had sunk into the most loathsome depravity. Much also must be attributed to the willingness of the people to submit to the austere regulations at this time enacted, which, though they savoured much of Spartan discipline, were yet, to the credit of the nation, not only ordained, but likewise punctually observed, in the protestant cantons, and by the natural influence of example, produced some amendment even among the catholics.

CHAP. VII.

Sequel of the Reformation.

CHAP. VII.

It would probably have been deemed a rash presage had any one, at the period we have now reached, foretold that, notwithstanding the bloody wars and bitter animosities which had prevailed during the progress of the Reformation, and which ultimately subsided into a schism that has to our days been kept up with no small degree of obstinacy and rancour, the confederacy should nevertheless have preserved all its vigour, and should even have maintained a permanent harmony among the jarring elements of which it became from this time composed. Yet, though the religious zeal which now fired the passions of men of different persuasions, incessantly urged them to discord and violence, and indeed established interests which seemed imcompatible with public tranquillity, such were the means supplied by the union for composing those dissensions, that for upwards of two succeeding centuries, except a few partial contests mostly occasioned by pious emulation, the historian has little to commemorate concerning the public transactions of this people, unless he were to enter into a detail of the various alliances of their different states with foreign powers, and the many eminent services rendered by their troops to the sovereigns in whose armies they occasionally engaged.

As it is not intended to swell these volumes by a circumstantial account of those services and those alliances, of the principal part of which copious histories are already in the hands of the public,[1] the sequel of this narrative will admit of a brevity, which it is hoped will not disappoint the English reader, who can no longer be equally interested in the petty wars of distant tribes, in which, although much energy has been at times displayed, yet the motives were seldom so pure as those which have stamped the character of heroism upon their earlier struggles for independence.

Four of the cantons, and among these the two principal of them, had adopted the Reformation;[2] seven remained firmly addicted to the faith of their ancestors;[3] and two admitted both religions into their country as well as their senates.[4] Of the three-and-twenty subject districts, only Morat and Granson became wholly protestant; sixteen retained their former creed, and five became mixed. Among the allies, Geneva, Neuchattel, Bienne, Mulhausen, and the town of St. Gallen, renounced the doctrines of Rome; while the diminutive republic of Gersau, and the abbey of Engelberg, persisted in their former worship. In the Grison leagues, after great disturbances, and many fluctuations, both creeds were at length admitted by public authority. The Reformation had at one time made considerable progress in the Valais, the Valteline,

[1] Baron de Zurlauben, Hist. Milit. des Suisses au Service de la France. Twelve vol. 12mo. F. Girard, Histoire Abregée des Officiers Suisses qui se sont distingués aux Services etrangers. Three vol. 8vo.

[2] Zuric, Berne, Basle, and Shaffhausen.

[3] Lucern, Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, Zug, Friburg, and Soleure. The five first, being ancient cantons, generally took the lead in what concerned religious matters.

[4] Appenzel and Glaris.

CHAP. VII.

and the Italian bailiwicks: but popery at last prevailed; and at Locarno, those who refused to adhere to the established doctrines were compelled to quit the country, on which occasion no less than sixty families, among whom were several of considerable note, withdrew to Zuric, and contributed essentially to promote both the commerce and manufactures of that already prosperous city. This religious separation was by no means, in all cases, topographical; the inhabitants of different persuasions in many places living promiscuously together, and many large families having divided into branches, whose contradictory belief and stern fanaticism have frequently proved the source of destructive feuds and great calamities.

1. *The* Boromean, *or Holy League.*

1580. Cardinal Charles Boromeo Archbishop of Milan,[5] a prelate who, with the virtues of a saint, combined the courage of a hero, prompted by a zeal which superseded every other consideration, rejected no expedient that appeared to him conducive towards reclaiming the Confederates to the pale of his church. The five old catholic cantons had already entered into an alliance with the Valais, not only for the protection, but also for the propagation of their religion; and at the instigation of the cardinal, they formed a compact for the same purpose with the Bishop of Basle. Besides establishing a seminary at Milan for the education of the Helvetic youths of his persuasion, he shewed a particular solicitude that a pope's nuncio should constantly reside among the Confederates; and by industriously promoting a league among all the catholic Confederates, in which he also endeavoured to engage the

[5] Canonized in the year 1610.

Duke of Savoy and other neighbouring princes, he sanctioned the fanatical abhorrence the divided people were already prone to entertain against each other; and this, notwithstanding the conciliatory spirit of the confederacy, was eventually productive of great misery among many of the most intolerant communities.

The Pope's Nuncio at Berne.

John Francis Bonom, Bishop of Vercelli, had by this time arrived in Swisserland in the character of papal nuncio. He had been received with great pomp and solemnity by the seven catholic cantons, but was refused admittance into the Valais and the Grison country. The hasty steps he took in promoting the Boromean league, by introducing monastic orders for the purpose of making converts, and inforcing the decrees of the council of Trent, soon alarmed the protestant states, who plainly perceived that his main object was to suppress the Reformation: hence when, on the tenth of December, he entered the gates of Berne unexpectedly with a numerous retinue, chiefly consisting of ecclesiastics, the whole body of the citizens gave evident marks of surprise and disapprobation; and the magistrates, without delay, sent a deputation to represent to him the danger to which he exposed himself in thus braving an irritated multitude, and to urge the necessity of his immediate departure. He acquiesced, and withdrew before night; not however until he had experienced some insults from the populace. His complaints concerning this reception and treatment were so loud and vehement, that serious apprehensions were entertained of an open rupture between Berne and the catholic cantons, had not the five neutral cantons interfered, and by virtue of the powers vested in them by the confederacy, brought about an amicable accommodation. 1581.

CHAP. VII.

Attempts of Savoy upon Geneva.

The nuncio having been defeated in this quarter, entered with great earnestness into the designs of Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, who, on succeeding to his dominions, and being urged by the Pope, the King of Spain, and, above all, the zealous Cardinal Boromeo, formed the project of recovering the provinces which had been wrested from his predecessors; and particularly aimed to possess himself of the city of Geneva, whose independence the dukes at all times beheld with an envious and indignant eye. Preparatory to a conspiracy, which was thought the easiest and most effectual method of achieving the intended purpose, des Plans, a native of Thonon, purchased a house within and near one of the gates of the city, and converted it into a place of public resort. Here he succeeded for a time in attracting many strangers, who promised to co-operate in the scheme, and engaged several discontented citizens in a plot to open the gate at an appointed hour to the troops of Savoy, numbers of which had privately advanced towards the suburbs. The eighteenth of April had been pitched upon for the attempt; but the treacherous design was discovered in time, and the original contriver met his doom on a scaffold. The citizens, seeing the danger to which they were exposed, willingly received within their walls auxiliaries from Berne, Neuchattel, and Bienne; and gratefully acknowledged the assurances given them by the French king, of his countenance and protection against their perfidious neighbour. Notwithstanding all these discouragements, the duke still continued to tamper with the disaffected in the city, and to advance troops towards its ramparts; and his general, Bernardin Count de Raconis, had actually planned another attack, in which he expected to be seconded by some of the

catholic Confederates. The day of the assault was fixed for the sixteenth of July: but one of the conspirators betrayed the project; and though Raconis drew near at the appointed time, and found the gates wide open, yet, having cause to suspect that an ambush was prepared, he desisted from the enterprise, and accepted a truce. Foreign sovereigns now interfered, and among these even Elizabeth Queen of England; and a convention was established which left the city at peace for a period of near twenty years.

Dissensions concerning the Gregorian Calendar.

When the dæmon of discord has once invaded a country, every incident, however trifling, may be converted into a cause of jealousy and contention, and foment troubles, the consequences of which generally astonish even those who have first excited them. So trivial an object as the acceptance of the reformed Gregorian calendar, which was proposed about this time by the authority of the council of Trent, became a cause of serious controversy, and warm opposition. The seven catholic cantons admitted it without hesitation; but the six others, considering the innovation as an attempt of Rome to encroach upon their independence, peremptorily rejected the offer: and this trifling disagreement contributed not a little to widen the breach that had already, in a great measure, estranged the different cantons from each other.[6] 1583.

[6] One of the principal reasons assigned by the peasants of Glaris, both protestants and catholics, for not adopting the new stile, will, no doubt, appear sufficiently ludicrous. At the upper extremity of the principal valley, on the frontiers of the Grison country, is a natural aperture in a rock, called St. Martin's Hole, through which, annually, on the third of March and the third of September, old style, the sun at noon shines on the church steeple of the village of Elms. The peasants, when the new calendar was offered them, rejected it unanimously and with indignation, observ-

CHAP. VII.

1584. The death of Cardinal Boromeo, which happened soon after, though it deprived the church of a zealous advocate, did not however abate the animosities which he had long industriously fomented. His spirit survived him; and Pope Sixtus the Fifth, at the instigation of the Spanish governor of Milan, sent the Bishop of Tricarico, with a legatine authority, into the cantons. This prelate convened a catholic diet at Lucern, where, with the most solemn asseverations, the several deputies swore, in the name of themselves and their constituents, to sacrifice their lives and property in support of their mother church. Many, warmed by religious zeal, enlisted for the holy wars; and upwards of ten thousand engaged to assist the King of France against the Hugenots.

2. *War of Mulhausen.*

A difference that had arisen at Mulhausen between two brethren, Jacob and Matthias Finninger, and some of their fellow citizens, concerning a copse of no great extent in the neighbourhood, proved the original cause of a feud which brought on abundance of misery and bloodshed. The two brethren having been cast, appealed to the cantons; and arbitrators came immediately from Zuric and Basle, who confirmed the sentence previously issued against them by their legal magistrates. Jacob, greatly incensed at what he deemed an unjust decree, appealed to the catholic cantons, raised a fac-
(1581.) tion in the city, and used injurious language against the senate: he was imprisoned and sent into banishment; and

ing that, should they admit it, the sun would no longer dart its rays on that steeple on those periodical days.

Matthias voluntarily followed him in his exile. The catholic cantons warmly espoused their cause, sent deputies to demand the reinstatement of the two brethren, and their demand being rejected, they renounced their alliance with the city.[7] 1586.

The faction, which upon this arose at Mulhausen, proved sufficiently powerful to depose the magistracy, and to institute a new senate. The leaders took arms out of the arsenal, seized on the public granaries and wine cellars, and caused seals to be affixed on the treasury. A criminal court was hereupon established, at which Matthias Finninger presided: upon which, most of the principal inhabitants found it adviseable to absent themselves from the city; and these fugitives, in their turn, laid their complaints before the protestant cantons. Although the party which now prevailed in the city had thus gained a decided superiority, and was openly countenanced by the catholic cantons; yet those of the protestant persuasion, together with Glaris, aware that this infraction of an established constitution, was a dangerous violation of the fundamental laws of their confederacy, determined at length, after having in vain tried every conciliatory expedient, and endeavoured to awe the insurgents by repeated exhortations and menaces, to have recourse to coercive means.

Nineteen hundred men, from Zuric, Berne, and Shaffhausen, with twelve cannon, arrived on the tenth of June, before the town; and Lewis d'Erlach, their commander, aware that any delay would afford time to the catholic cantons, and to the Archduke of Austria, who likewise favoured the re- 1587.

[7] They never after consented to its renewal, nor to the deputies of Mulhausen having suffrage in the general diets: a right of being present at the deliberations is all they could ever recover.

CHAP. VII.

volters, to counteract his design, resolved, after a fruitless summons, to venture an immediate attack. This was effected on the fourteenth; and one of the gates having been forced open by a petard, about one hundred of the Confederates, with Erlach at their head, rushed into the town, where they were met by the exasperated burghers, headed by their new burgomasters. After a severe conflict and much bloodshed, the latter were nearly overpowered, when one of the burghers found means to drop the portcullis in the gate. The Confederates who had entered the town were thus cut off from immediate succour, and in their turn saw themselves reduced to the greatest extremity. They dispersed in hopes of escaping the fury of the citizens by concealment; but many surrendered upon the usual condition of the laws of war, that their lives should be spared. This condition, though freely granted, was ill observed. The prisoners were conducted to a remote place behind the convent of the Unshod Friars, and there inhumanly butchered. The besiegers meanwhile used the utmost efforts to force a way into the town, and rescue their gallant brethren: they succeeded at length in breaking down the portcullis with their battle axes, crowded in great numbers through the gate, and spread throughout the city. Erlach, who had been wounded in the thigh, being now once more surrounded by his friends, repeatedly called out, 'peace, 'peace,' and strove with all his might to stop the carnage: but his efforts were vain; the daring citizens still kept up the conflict. The sun was set, and the din of arms, the shouts of the conquerors, the cries of the wounded and expiring, and the shrieks of the women and children, added to the gloom of the night, spread the utmost horror and desolation throughout

the city. The burghers, whom their rash audacity had now wholly deserted, brought out their deposed burgomasters, Ziegler and Hartman, presented them in chains to the infuriated assailants, and throwing aside their weapons, in the name of these venerable hostages, implored for mercy. The women were called upon to join their supplications: they came forth with their children in their cradles, and placed them in rows before them, as a barrier against the spreading havock. Brave men are ever humane and merciful. This sight softened the fury of the conquerors: Erlach proclaimed a cessation of hostilities, and was instantly obeyed. The two aged burgomasters, and the town clerk, who had been with them cast into prison, were immediately released; and all the citizens who had borne arms, many of whom were dragged out of the most secret recesses, were put into confinement.

On the thirtieth of June came the deputies from Zuric, Berne, Glaris, Basle, and Shaffhausen, and established a court for the trial of the delinquents. All who appeared to have been merely auxiliaries, among whom were two hundred Austrians, were immediately released, and suffered to depart. The citizens were distinguished into two classes; the ringleaders, and those who had been evidently seduced. Among the former, heavy charges were brought against two desperate adventurers, Dummel and Langenstein: they were convicted of having fomented the sedition, and committed more slaughter than any of the insurgents; the former was sentenced to be beheaded, and the latter, who had moreover committed various robberies, to be hanged. These were the only delinquents who suffered in the city: the rest, having given marks of contrition for the errors into which they had

CHAP. VII.

suffered themselves to be betrayed, chiefly, as they freely declared, by the Finningers, were pardoned, and most of them restored to their former condition: the deposed magistrates were reinstated. The women, who had taken an active part in the insurrection, were assembled in the great minster, severely reprimanded, and rigorously admonished to attend to their domestic concerns, and not to interfere in public affairs, of which they could have no competent knowledge. After this the deputies, having made some regulations for the future security of the town, departed amidst the acclamations and blessings of the penitent burghers, and their families. The Finningers had withdrawn from the city before the siege, under pretence of going in quest of further aid. Jacob was seized in the month of August, on the territories of Berne, and, as a disturber of the public peace, publicly beheaded. This siege, though trivial as to the magnitude of its object, has acquired considerable celebrity by the minute description given of it by one of the protestant ministers,[8] who, although greatly obnoxious to the insurgents, remained notwithstanding in the city, where, in the midst of the tumult and carnage, he was sought for in his house, but saved from destruction by his wife, who told the ruffians that he was gone to the market place to join his fellow citizens.

3. *The Scalade of Geneva.*

The determined purpose of the Princes of Savoy to gain possession of the most important station on their frontiers, had urged them to seize every opportunity which afforded the

[8] David Zwinger. His account of this disastrous event is published as a supplement to Lauffer's history,

least prospect of enabling them to make themselves masters of Geneva; but their various attempts, some of which have been briefly noticed (and among the rest, the operation of the Boromean league, which, with other important objects, had this reduction likewise in view) had all of them proved hitherto abortive. Under the auspices of France, treaties had lately been made, which had lulled the citizens into perfect security: and Charles Emanuel, having been admonished by the pope to exert all his might against his heretical neighbours, and confiding in the assistance of the Spanish and Neapolitan forces which he had been promised, now resolved to avail himself of this security. Under pretence of observing the motions of the French Marshal de Lavardin, who had a command in these parts, he found means, without giving umbrage, to station a body of about two thousand men near the gates of the city; 1602. and the necessary implements having been procured, the night between the eleventh and twelfth of December, old stile, being the winter solstice, was fixed upon for scaling the ramparts, and reducing the town by surprise. The scaling ladders had been painted black to prevent their being perceived in the dark: they were so constructed as to fold into a small compass, and to admit of being lengthened or shortened as occasion might require; they had spikes at the lower ends, and rollers at the top covered with cloth, to prevent all noise on moving them. The command of the enterprise was given to the Sieur d'Albigny, by whom it had been originally planned: and the duke, confident of success, came in person over the mountains, but under an assumed name. The citizens had indeed received some intimation of a plot that was meditating against them; but the President Rochette had been

CHAP. VII.

sent by the duke a few days before, to quiet their apprehensions by positive assurances of his peaceful and even friendly disposition.

The troops advanced at the appointed time from la Roche, Bonneville, and Bonne. Brunaulieu commanded the party that was destined for the scalade. Father Alexander, a Scottish jesuit, confessed the men at the foot of the ladders, and encouraged them by promises of both temporal and eternal rewards. At one o'clock, after midnight, they ascended: two hundred reached the top of the rampart unobserved; and laid themselves down, or drew up close to the houses of the Corraterie, waiting for the hour of four, when the general assault was to be given. A few walked through the streets, and found in all of them the most profound tranquillity. At about two however, a sentry, stationed at the tower of the mint, heard some noise in the ditch, and fired his musket. Brunaulieu upon this, seeing himself discovered, resolved to anticipate the attack. He sent detachments to different parts of the town, and hastened with the remainder of his force to the new gate, which, as had been preconcerted, he proposed to burst open with a petard. The guard at this gate, consisting of thirteen men, fired their pieces, and concealed themselves; while one of them climbed to the top of the building, let down the portcullis, and thus prevented the fixing of the petard. The citizens being now alarmed, ran to their arms, and barricaded the principal avenues. A cannon was fired which flanked the ditch where the ladders stood, and dashed most of them to pieces. The assailants without the walls having mistaken the report of the cannon for the explosion of the petard, hastened towards the new gate, estimating with

certain confidence the rich booty they were about to gain. Being arrived at the gate, and finding it close shut, they made what haste they could towards the ladders; but finding them unfit for use, and a second discharge of the cannon, loaded with grape shot, having killed some and wounded many others, they saw themselves compelled to a precipitate retreat. Those within the city found themselves now harassed on every side: they were fired at from the windows, and annoyed with stones from the tops of the houses; and no opportunity was afforded them of either offensive or defensive operations. About fifty of them having been felled to the ground, the remainder ran to the spot where they had fixed their ladders; but finding none that could be of service, many threw themselves down the rampart, and one of them falling on father Alexander, who still kept his station in the ditch, severely wounded him. Thirteen of them, who could not prevail on themselves to hazard the dangerous leap, were made prisoners. Cannon were immediately levelled at the quarters of the enemy in the suburbs at and near Plein-Palais, and the whole of their horse and foot were, after a few discharges, thrown into the utmost confusion. D'Albigny, greatly abashed at this disgraceful issue of his favourite enterprise, ordered a retreat. The troops, perishing with cold, and depressed by fear and disappointment, hastened towards Bonne, where the duke received from their own mouths the tidings of the failure of the expedition. The duke, after giving a gentle, though not a delicate rebuke, to d'Albigny,[9] instantly set out, and returned over the mountains.

[9] *Vous avez fait la une belle Cagade*; were the words he used.

CHAP. VII.

The thirteen Savoyards who were taken on the rampart, were immediately hanged in the city; the senate alleging, that, as they had not come as open enemies, but as thieves and assassins, in violation of existing treaties which had been confirmed by solemn oaths, they had no right to be considered as prisoners of war. Their heads, together with those of fifty-four of their companions who had been found dead in the streets, were ranged on the rampart near the place of the scalade; and the bodies of all of them were cast into the Rhone. The whole number of the enemy that perished in this inglorious attempt, amounted to about two hundred. Seventeen Genevese were killed; and their bodies were interred with great funeral solemnity in the church of St. Gervais: thirty were wounded, among whom was the Ex-syndic Fabri, and the Senator Baudichon. Theodore Beza, who was still living, is said to have heard nothing of the tumult, and to have been greatly surprised in the morning, when he was told the circumstances, and shewn the effects of the treacherous attack. He had long ceased to preach; but on this occasion he mounted the pulpit, and caused the hundred and twenty-fourth psalm to be sung. This psalm has ever since been chanted at the anniversary, which used to be celebrated with great solemnity, until the republic, in our days, surrendered its glory and independence. Suspicions were entertained against Philip Blondel, the junior syndic, on account of the remissness of the guards during that awful night. He succeeded indeed in clearing himself of the charge; but his subsequent conduct proved that he was not a man who could be safely trusted. The fortifications of Geneva were now repaired and augmented; and some auxiliaries from

Berne were added to the garrison. The Duke of Savoy sent the Count of Tournon to Berne, to extenuate the offence; but all the answer this apologist received was, an earnest admonition to quit the canton without delay, lest he should be insulted by the enraged multitude. All the neighbouring states, particularly the cantons, the King of France, and even the Spanish Governor of Milan, used their endeavours to bring about an accommodation. The neutral cantons were called upon to frame the treaty, which, under the name of 'the mode 'of living,'[10] was concluded on the eleventh of July. This 1603. treaty restored commerce and free intercourse between Savoy and Geneva, and stipulated, that the duke should raise no fortifications, nor station any troops, within sixteen miles of the city."[11]

4. *War of the Valteline.*

The Grison country became next the theatre of a war, which (religious motives being, as usual in these times, involved in the incentives that animated the opponents) was conducted with the utmost fierceness and barbarity. In a government purely democratical, such as the Rhætian republic was at this time, there will ever be either one or a few individuals of more than common energy, or a few pre-eminent families, or sets of men, who, having acquired an ascendency over the part of the people most prone to tumult and innovation, establish

[10] *Mode de vivre.*

[11] Spon, in his history of Geneva, t. i. p. 421—440, has given a very circumstantial account of this memorable event, with the detail of which every Genevese was familiarized in his early youth, and of which they at all times spoke with fervent gratitude and exultation.

CHAP. VII.

an authority which clashes with the principles, and is subversive of the very essence of a free government. Such was the state of the Grison country at the time, when it became an object of the interested views of the greatest powers of Europe, who availed themselves of the internal feuds among the people to forward their designs, while this unhappy people became the victim of every unruly and destructive passion.

The state of Europe at this time rendered this country and its dependencies, small and unimportant in themselves, an object of serious consequence among its mighty neighbours. The power of Austria had now arrived at a degree of magnitude, which justly alarmed all the states that were within the sphere of its enormous influence. The fairest parts of Europe, and the best half of America, acknowledged its sovereign sway; and its preponderancy was still more enhanced by the countenance of the Roman pontiff, who now began to perceive the necessity of conciliating the favour, instead of braving the power, of the more pre-eminent among the temporal princes.

(1540.) The dutchy of Milan had, by the cession of Charles the Fifth, devolved to the Spanish line of his family; and had, under three successive Philips, been governed by vicegerents, who felt themselves too powerfully supported to be at all times guided by the dictates of honour and justice. The Venetians in particular, from their contiguity and comparative weakness, had frequent cause to complain of encroachments, which they were, singly, unable to resist: hence they sought the support of the French monarch, who had equal reason to dread the further aggrandizement of the Austrian power; and they moreover endeavoured to strengthen themselves by alliances

with the Swiss, from whom they hoped to derive both occasional reinforcements, and a permanent check upon the enterprises of the Governor of Milan. On this score, a division soon took place between the protestant and catholic cantons, the former openly favouring the alliance with Venice, while the latter shewed a disposition to counteract every measure, the drift of which seemed detrimental to the cause of popery.

In this state of affairs it was impossible that the Grison country should be long suffered to remain undisturbed. The Valteline, a province subject to this republic, intercepted the communication between Milan and the Tyrol, the dominions of the two branches of the house of Austria which approached nearest to each other; and the forces, on the other hand, which the Venetians proposed to draw from the cantons, were wholly shut out from their territories, unless they were suffered to march through the Rhætian valleys. Both parties hence resolved to use all means in their power to obtain an ascendency in this government; and for this purpose, each had recourse to one of the factions which had long prevailed in this distracted country.

Factions in the Grison Country.

Religion had been the ostensible motive, but private interest had long since given rise to these factions, which now began to rage with unrelenting severity. Pope Pius the Fifth had by a pontifical bull, conferred on John Planta, Baron of Razuns, and Conrad his son, Dean of the cathedral of Coire, all the church lands in the Valteline and Chiavenna, 'held by 'improper persons.' By improper persons the bull evidently (1572.) meant the protestants who had obtained possession of these lands, among whom were several of the Salis family and of their dependants. These being loath to surrender such

CHAP. VII.

valuable acquisitions, soon raised loud clamours: and a diet having been assembled, it was there declared that the grant was derogatory to the privileges of the country; and a heavy fine was decreed upon any person who should attempt to enforce its stipulations. The contest, to which both parties industriously assigned a religious motive, now became violent and destructive. The baron, finding himself overpowered, withdrew into the upper league; but he was there seized and surrendered to his adversaries, who, setting aside all established forms, erected a criminal tribunal, and, by torture, endeavoured to extort a confession of guilt from the baron. In this they failed: yet, contrary even to the imperfect jurisprudence of those times, the court passed sentence of death upon him, which, notwithstanding the urgent intercessions both of the Swiss cantons and of the Austrian envoy, was publicly executed. Others were severely fined; and many, having consulted their safety by flight, were deprived of all their property by confiscation. The latter laid their complaints before the cantons; and obtained from them a deputation, which repaired to Coire, redressed many injuries, and, in order to obviate for the future the effects of democratic despotism, caused a positive decree to be solemnly ratified, that no one should, without the assent of the existing magistrates, presume to assemble the communities. Public tranquillity was thus restored; but the animosities of the families, which had given rise to the disturbance, were not allayed; and these have since maintained a rivality, which has on too many occasions proved disastrous to the peaceful inhabitants.

Origin of the Troubles.

About the beginning of the next century, the Count de Fuentes, at that time the Spanish Governor of Milan, instructed

no doubt by the subtle ministers under whom he acted, sought every means of estranging the Grisons from their amicable intercourse with France and Venice; and knowing the effect of a display of vigour upon the populace, built a strong fort on the confines of the Valteline, which he called by his name. A Spanish envoy was sent to reside at Coire, who, by every species of insinuation and cunning, endeavoured to bring about an intimate and perpetual union between the republic and the dutchy of Milan. A French resident, and a delegate from Venice, not only laboured with unremitted assiduity to defeat this project; but the latter (his state being now at open war with the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria) used also every persuasive argument to procure an alliance with the leagues, which, while it might prevent the communication between Milan and the Tyrol, would also facilitate the approach of the auxiliaries, for which his senate had contracted with the cantons. This event gave rise to two relentless parties, which, under the names of the Spanish and the Venetian factions, became the cause of dire calamities in this devoted country.

At the head of the former were the two brethren, Rudolph and Pompey Planta, two men of considerable influence and energy, but who were more swayed by their inveteracy against the Salis family, which had espoused the Venetian cause, than by motives of patriotism and rectitude. They at first prevailed; the Venetian envoy was ordered to quit the country, and a criminal court was established at Coire, which proceeded in a summary manner against several individuals, and whole communities, who had betrayed a bias in favour of Venice; and even threatened to arraign the Bishop of Coire, who was

1617.

CHAP. VII.

suspected of siding with that party, and would have suffered some public injury, had not his numerous friends and dependents found means to screen him from the intended insult. The frantic populace assembled at Coire; but being staggered by an unlooked for opposition, dispersed on a sudden, upon which their leaders found it expedient to quit the country.

1618. The Governor of Milan hereupon broke off all intercourse with the leagues, and by the distresses he thereby occasioned, furnished a handle for still greater animosities, which soon broke out in reciprocal violence against all who either avowedly or indirectly favoured the Spaniards. A new criminal court was instituted at Coire, which, after declaring a general toleration of religion, sent several catholics to the scaffold, and particularly directed their proceedings against the two Plantas. These men not appearing to their summons, were outlawed, and a price of one thousand crowns was laid on each of their heads: to intercede for them was declared a capital offence; to harbour them, a transgression liable to a fine of one thousand crowns; and should any community venture to abet them, it was no longer to be considered as a member of the republic. The Bishop of Coire had the misfortune to become likewise obnoxious to this tribunal: he was deposed and banished; his private property was confiscated; and it was ordered that, should he ever return to the territories of the republic, he should, without further procedure, be publicly beheaded. The city of Coire, because it had shewn some symptoms of a predilection in favour of the Spanish party, was amerced in a considerable sum. The heads of the triumphant party hereupon sent

deputies to the King of France and to the cantons, to justify their proceedings, and received from the former the most positive assurances of his favour and protection.

The exiles, on the other hand, appeared on the ninth of November, before a general diet of the Helvetic Confederates, complained of the violences exercised against them, and implored the interposition of the cantons. Their antagonists were here confronted with them; and, after a patient hearing and a long discussion, it was agreed to send a deputation to the leagues, to exhort them to dissolve the criminal court, to revise its sentences, and for this purpose to grant safe-conducts to the exiles, in order to enable them to appear in their own defence. The Catholic cantons even went so far as to declare that, unless the sanguinary tribunal were immediately abolished, they would, without delay, adopt compulsive measures. This peremptory requisition was actually complied with towards the end of the year; but tranquillity was far from being restored by the concession.

The French envoy now also interfered, and about the beginning of the next year, obtained the restoration of several exiles. But the rage of party displayed itself now with more malignity than ever. 'The people,' says one of their historians,[12] 'resembled a swarm of bees newly expelled from the 'hive, which roam wide in fear and trepidation, and know not 'where to settle, or whither to fly for safety or protection.' The Planta faction resumed an ascendency: they came in force to Coire; and in order to retaliate the severities that had been exercised against them, erected a third criminal tribunal, in which Rudolph took the lead. New victims were selected: 1619.

[12] Lauffer.

CHAP. VII.

a loose was given to the savage passions of the populace; and the acts of cruelty that were now practised spread a general consternation among the distracted people. This gave rise to a third, or, as it was named, 'the neutral party,' which proposed a mutual amnesty, on condition that neither a Salis, nor a Planta, should, during a certain period, hold any public office; that no foreign pensions should be received by individuals; and that no foreign minister be suffered to reside in the country. This proposal, which was adopted, served indeed to counterbalance, but by no means to allay the virulence of the two contending parties. The Salis faction raised a fourth criminal tribunal at Davos, in the league of the ten jurisdictions, which, in its turn, proceeded with excessive rigour, by tortures, fines, and capital punishments, against the friends, relations, and dependants of the Plantas; and no one could forebode the end of the calamities and confusion which now prevailed throughout the country.

Massacre in the Valteline. 1620.

Meanwhile the rage of frantic bigotry burst out with unexampled fury in the subject province of the Valteline. After repeated murmurs, and various attempts to exclude the protestants from the province, the alarm bells tolled early on the nineteenth of July, throughout the valley; and a carnage instantly began, the particulars of which have been detailed by a great number of writers, and have filled all Europe with horror and detestation. Several of the magistrates, and their substitutes, and numbers of the protestant clergy, were butchered with the most remorseless and inhuman barbarity. Sixty persons were murdered at Tirano: at Teglio the assassins, after having put to death a minister in the pulpit, and a great part of his congregation, demolished the church: at

Sondrio they stormed the palace in which the governor resided, and dragged him and his family into the Engadine, telling him that they would no longer submit to the sway of heretics: the houses of all the protestants were pillaged and demolished. A butcher boasted that he had in one day slaughtered eighteen helpless victims. A protestant woman, who, with her infant daughter, had taken refuge in this country from the persecutions in Italy, was assailed by a band of merciless ruffians, and ordered to abjure her faith; but she, clasping her child in her arms, firmly refused to yield compliance: the monsters strove to tear the child from her, but she, pressing it still closer to her bosom, boldly bid them defiance; finding they could not prevail, they stabbed her to the heart, and mangled her lifeless corps. The peasants, in hopes of exempting themselves from the future payment of their dues, were particularly hostile to their lords, landlords, and creditors; they pursued, like game, the unhappy fugitives, who sought refuge in the mountains, woods, and remote caverns: they hurled many of them, with their wives and innocent children, down the steep precipices, and many they cast into the rivers and torrents; many perished by the hands of their own brethren and nearest kinsmen, who coveted their property. The horrors of this, and many subsequent days of havock and dismay, are too shocking to be dwelt upon any longer than the testimony of history absolutely requires.[13] The Duke of Feria, at this time governor of Milan, never

[13] Among the great number of accounts of this horrid carnage, which have been published in most languages, the English reader will find an ample detail at the end of the third volume of Fox's Book of Martyrs, in which most of the names of the assassins, and of their victims, are recorded.

CHAP. VII.

cleared himself from the imputation of having abetted this dreadful conspiracy.

Progress of the Troubles.

The evils of civil discord having by this time arrived at a pitch that seemed no longer supportable, a diet, which met at Coire, applied to most of the neighbouring states to lend their aid towards quelling the fatal disturbances: but Austria, the catholic cantons, and even France, which on few other occasions shewed so much solicitude in favour of orthodoxy, under pretence of maintaining the cause of their religion, were deaf to all entreaties; and even when Berne and Zuric at length resolved to send two regiments to assist in restoring the tranquillity of the leagues, the catholic Confederates used violent means to impede the march of these auxiliaries. In this however, their views were frustrated, these forces having taken a circuitous route through the province of Tockenburg, where no one attempted to obstruct their passage. On the twenty-second of August the regiments, together with numerous bands of the natives, entered the Valteline, and the insurgents immediately dispersed: and even the Spaniards, after various and bloody conflicts, evacuated the valley. The Grisons, under various pretences, withdrew soon after to their homes; and the Swiss auxiliaries returned over the mountains, and pitched their tents below Coire.

The Venetians, ever dreading the progress of the Spanish arms, prevailed upon France to interpose its influence towards preventing any further encouragement from being given to the rebels of the Valteline by the government of Milan. They actually succeeded in detaching that monarch from the formidable coalition; and his envoy Gueffier once more made his appearance at Coire: but the catholic cantons, on the other hand,

openly favoured the adverse party, which, especially in the upper or Grey League, consisting chiefly of zealous adherents to the Romish church, had a decided superiority: they even sent them auxiliaries; and thus were Confederates now seen in arms against Confederates. Another mediating party, under the name of 'the true hearted,' arose, and boasted of being able to accommodate all differences. Their first act, by no means a conciliatory one, was to denounce Pompey Planta as the principal cause of all the calamities that had of late befallen their country, to raise a force, and to assail him in his castle at Riedberg, where they caused him to be assassinated. This party was countenanced by Gueffier, and joined by the people of Engadine; and the catholic Confederates, seeing that their presence could no longer avail the cause they had espoused, evacuated the country.

Treaty of Madrid. 1621.

At length, through the mediation of France, a treaty was concluded at Madrid on the twenty-fifth of April, according to which the Grison leagues were to be reinstated in the full possession of the Valteline.[14] But so far was Spain from being sincere in this stipulation, that, under pretence of assisting the Duke of Savoy against Geneva, it sent additional forces into the Milanese, and particularly strengthened its posts towards the Alps. None of the parties considered themselves bound by the treaty. The Grisons assembled a diet in the month of September, where it was agreed that each league should raise a body of four thousand men to defend the country against all foreign invasion: not one half of the number, however,

[14] The negotiations of the Marshal de Bassompierre on this and a subsequent occasion, were published by his secretary Claude Malleville, under the title of 'Ambassade 'en Espagne en 1621, et en Suisse en 1625.' Two volumes, 8vo.

CHAP. VII.

appeared in arms; and even these, after a few skirmishes, found themselves compelled, by want of money, provisions, and discipline, to disperse. The Austrians now advanced into the Engadine: the Spaniards took Chiavenna; flames were seen rising, and shrieks and lamentations were heard on every side. Baldiron, the Austrian general, after having subdued the Prettigau, and taken the oath of allegiance from its inhabitants, entered Coire, with Rudolph Planta by his side. Compulsion restored a temporary and sullen tranquillity; but numbers, weary of incessant alarms, and the malignity of party rage, crossed the most dangerous precipices in search of that quiet, which they despaired of ever seeing restored to their unhappy country.

The deplorable state of this distracted people was at length taken into serious consideration at a general diet of the Swiss cantons. Here the deputy of Zuric delivered a speech, the spirit of which, had it pervaded the nation in our days, would no doubt have preserved its freedom, its independence, its arms, its treasures, many thousands of lives, and the respect and abundant felicity it enjoyed under its mild and beneficent government. 'The Rhætian leagues,' he said, 'are 'a mirror for us all. In vain are their inlets almost imper- 'vious, and their rocks tower far above the clouds; in vain are 'their men endowed with heroic valour, and in vain do they 'confide in the sacred ties which unite them to powerful 'neighbours. None of these advantages will avail them if 'domestic strife rends their very vitals. We have taught 'various mighty nations how difficult it is to subdue men 'who are determined to be free, and firmly resolved to de- 'fend to the last drop of blood, themselves, their families,

CHAP. VII.

'their property, and independence: but should we now 'abandon our Rhætian allies, we shall teach those very nations, 'that by sowing dissensions among us, they may not only 'vanquish these leagues, but, without any extraordinary 'efforts, subvert even the confederacy to which we owe our 'welfare and security. Can we, without serious apprehensions, 'behold the further aggrandizement of the enormous power 'of Austria, which already, by its possession of the Tyrol, the 'hither Austria, Burgundy, and Milan, hems us in on every 'side? Unanimity, believe me my friends! perfect unani-'mity is our only rock of security; and with it we shall at all 'times be greatly formidable, if not invincible. This language produced conviction; and the diet unanimously agreed to send deputies to the Archduke of Austria and the Duke of Feria, to request a cessation of hostilities, and a free intercourse among the respective territories of the contending parties. The intercession was not wholly rejected; but it was not immediately productive of the desired effect.

Conventions of Milan. 1622.

On the sixteenth of January the Grisons found themselves compelled to subscribe, at Milan, three conventions highly prejudicial to their interests. According to these, the papal hierarchy was to be restored in its full splendour; the Spaniards were at all times to be allowed a free passage through the Grison country; protestants were, in less than six months, to dispose of all their property in the Valteline, and to quit the valley; several valuable estates, that formerly belonged to the church, the eight jurisdictions of Prettigau, and the whole of the valley of Munster, were to be ceded to Austria; and Austrian garrisons were to occupy, during twelve years, Coire, Mayenfeld, and the principal posts and

CHAP. VII.

passes in the country. France, seeing these rapid strides of a rival power, now took serious alarm, and keenly reproached the cantons with a remissness, which she herself had long indulged without the least compunction.

The protestants in the Grison country were now oppressed with more than usual rigour; and the Austrian troops dispersed throughout their valleys committed all manner of outrage, and abstained from no acts of wantonness and rapacity that could gratify their sordid appetites. The inhabitants of the Prettigau, who were treated with horrid barbarity, felt at length the indignation that became their independent spirit. They held secret meetings at night in the woods; and though deprived of their arms, and not knowing where to look for aid, resolved to make a desperate effort to free themselves from the disgraceful yoke, and rather than yield, to perish in the attempt. They procured large heavy clubs, into which they drove long spikes, hooks, hatchets, and blades of various sorts. Thuring Enderlin of Mayenfeld headed them, and assembled many who had taken refuge beyond the frontiers. The day of insurrection was fixed for the twenty-fourth of April. Baldiron had three days before arrived in these parts, and issued mandates which wholly abrogated the protestant form of worship. The people exclaimed loudly against the intolerant decrees, assembled at the appointed hour, and after much bloodshed, in which several women (as is frequently the case among this people) were known to perform acts of distinguished heroism, succeeded in expelling their wanton oppressors. Rudolph de Salis became now their leader, and obtained for them some pecuniary assistance, both from the protestant cantons, and from Venice. The Austrian general collected

some forces, and returned into the valley, but was immediately repulsed; and the conquerors, having taken Mayenfeld on the first of June, advanced before Coire. They soon reduced this city to such extremity, that Baldiron demanded a truce, but was answered that he had too often deceived them to be trusted any longer. After repeated proposals and much intercession, it was at length agreed on the sixteenth of June, that the Austrian and Spanish forces should be allowed to withdraw to Chiavenna, and that all the Grison prisoners at Inspruck should be released.

The heads of the leagues met now at Coire, and, on the twenty-seventh of June, declared a general amnesty, and solemnly repealed the treaties of Milan: they ordered the levy of twelve hundred men in each league to guard their frontiers, and conferred the command of them on Rudolph de Salis. A new inroad was attempted on the side of Engadine, and the Austrians once more penetrated into the Prettigau. Thirty of the natives devoted themselves on this occasion; they rushed headlong among the enemy, and having committed great slaughter with their massy clubs, fell lifeless on the heaps of the numbers they had slain. Some forces arrived from Zuric, and assisted the feeble remnant of the inhabitants to check the progress of the merciless invaders. A congress was now held at Lindau, which met on the fourth of September: the conditions offered by the Spanish and Austrian plenipotentiaries differed not much from those which had been stipulated at Milan, and were rejected both by the protestant and the catholic Confederates; and even France protested against their being accepted.

The distresses of the wretched people of the leagues were now

CHAP. VII.

Deplorable State of the Country.

arrived at a degree that baffles all description. The winter was approaching, and most of their habitations lay in ruins: their cattle had been carried off, and their provisions consumed by the rapacious hosts that had at different times over-run their country: the flower of their youth had fallen in the many bloody conflicts they had sustained: the aged fathers, the widows, and orphans, were pining in want and deep distress: the horrors of war were succeeded by famine, and famine by a train of epidemic diseases: and in the midst of these accumulated calamities, they were incessantly harassed by the wanton cruelty of the Austrian soldiery, by whom they were still surrounded. The French monarch having now insured domestic tranquillity, at length turned an eye of compassion on the enormous sufferings of this hapless people, and resolved, in conjunction with Savoy and Venice, to effectuate the deliverance and restoration of
1624. this old ally. In the month of June, the Marquis de Coeuvre arrived in Swisserland, with the character of French ambassador extraordinary; and after long protracted negotiations, obtained, even from the catholic cantons, the ratification of the treaty of Madrid; and in the month of October the cantons of Berne and Zuric likewise agreed to give free passage to a body of French troops intended for the Grison leagues. These troops, together with considerable reinforcements from those two cantons, arrived unawares on the twenty-eighth of October, on the confines of the country; and having been joined by many natives, marched over the mountains, and before the end of the year occupied the whole of the Valteline, Bormio, and Chiavenna, the castle of the latter town only excepted. Spain had previously, on finding what

forces it would have to contend with, and in order more effectually to involve religion in its cause, made over these provinces to the Roman pontiff,[15] who, having accepted the gift, but being now deprived of the possession, sent his nephew, Cardinal Barberini, to Paris, to remonstrate against the profaneness of subjecting a people of true believers to a government where heresy prevailed; the people having moreover solemnly declared that they preferred any government to that of the leagues.[16] His expostulations proved ineffectual: and the Marshal de Bassompiere arrived on the seventh of January 1626. at a general diet at Soleure, and obtained from the cantons, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the pope's nuncio, an unanimous declaration that the provinces of Valteline, Bormio, and Chiavenna, should be restored to the Grisons.

Spain, in conjunction with the pope on the one hand, and France, united with Savoy and Venice on the other, were now renewing their hostile preparations, which foreboded endless warfare, and the utter destruction of the already exhausted country, when on a sudden intelligence was brought, that on the fifth of March, France and Spain had concluded a peace at Monçon in Arragon, the conditions of which, as far as they related to the Grisons, were indeed favourable in appearance, but in fact by no means advantageous. The three subject provinces were nominally restored to the leagues; but the powers of the government, especially in religious matters,

Treaty of Monçon.

[15] Urban the Eighth.

[16] The writers in favour of the Spanish party are severe against the protestant clergy, whom they tax with having, by their fanaticism, greatly contributed to the prolongation of this atrocious war, and to have repeatedly frustrated every attempt towards a reconciliation.

CHAP. VII.

were so circumscribed by reservations and immunities, that the total alienation would have been far preferable to the nugatory sovereignty. The leagues peremptorily rejected the terms; but among the cantons, the catholic shewed an inclination to adopt them, while the protestant declared decidedly in favour of the treaty of Madrid.

Meanwhile however, the fortresses in the three subject provinces were dismantled, the foreign troops evacuated the country, and the people reluctantly submitted to the dependence to which they had been doomed by the contracting powers. The yoke however was light: none but the catholic religion was to be tolerated; and the people were to chuse their own magistrates, which were indeed to be confirmed by the sovereign, but the confirmation was not to be withheld on payment of a stipulated and moderate sum. In consequence of these privileges, the people of the Valteline, on the twenty-fourth of September, chose a council of regency, consisting chiefly of the authors of the rebellion, at the head of which they placed Robustell, the principal ringleader: but so disgusted were the leagues at the cold indifference with which France had sacrificed their interests at the treaty of Monçon, that they refused the passage claimed by the king for the troops he meant to send into Italy, to support the claim of the Duke of Nevers to the dutchy of Mantua.

1627.

1628.

To counteract this claim, the Emperor Ferdinand the Second advanced a numerous army, which he likewise intended to march through the Grison country into Lombardy. This passage was also refused by an unanimous vote of the whole confederacy: but regardless of this faint opposition, the troops forced the strong pass of Luciensteig, and in a few

days made themselves masters of Coire, and of the whole country as far as the lake of Como. Perhaps this blow would have completed the ruin of this distracted government, had not the heroic Swede, Gustavus Adolphus, checked the rapacity of Austria. The Emperor being hard pressed by the victorious arms of the northern conqueror, and France, or rather its minister, Cardinal Richelieu, being greatly embarrassed by domestic troubles, both these powers gladly listened to terms of accommodation. According to these terms, which were ratified at Ratisbonne on the thirteenth of October, Charles 1630.
Duke of Nevers was to be invested with the dutchy of Mantua by the emperor, and the Austrian troops were to be withdrawn from the Grison country.

The French after this maintained a decided superiority in the leagues; and the Duke de Rohan, who acted in a diplomatic capacity in Swisserland, was at the same time invested with military powers, which enabled him to restrain the people of the Valteline, who had not yet ceased to incline in favour of the Spanish party. A few years after, the duke, with a 1636.
semblance of great candour and equity, made a spontaneous offer to put the leagues in absolute possession of their subject provinces, upon condition, that only the catholic religion should be tolerated; that the people should have an option in the choice of their magistrates, and that France should, in case of future disputes, be authorized to decide the differences. This infringement of religious toleration, and the reservation in favour of a foreign influence, alarmed even the partizans of France. A diet was assembled, which, by a deputation it sent to Inspruck, readily obtained a guarantee of the three provinces to the leagues, on the same footing as they had been

CHAP. VII.

held before the commencement of this war. The principal promoter of this treaty, Colonel Janetsch, did not long survive his benevolent exertion: he was, on the fourteenth of
1639. January, accosted at a feast at Coire by thirty persons in disguise, who, pretending to sport with him, treacherously put him to death. The perpetrators of this deed were never discovered; but France saw itself for a time deprived of all its influence in this country. Spain had, in the preceding year, likewise entered into a perpetual convention with the leagues, according to which it renounced all claim to, or right to interfere in the affairs of the three subject provinces.

Thus, after many years of incessant alarms, bloodshed, devastation, and distresses of every description, afflictive even in the recital, was this unhappy country once more restored to a temporary tranquillity, and its independence. The subjects of the Valteline seeing themselves no longer abetted by the powers which had stimulated them to the rebellion that will ever prove a stain to their annals, adopted a more temperate conduct, and voluntarily submitted to the allegiance which could alone establish the peace of the community. A general oblivion of past offences took place for a time; and it may appear an instance of singular forbearance in a people of such vehement passions, that even Rudolph Planta, whom the adverse party (which ultimately prevailed) have branded with the appellation of traitor, was suffered to spend the remainder of his days in peaceful retirement, at his seat at Zernetz in the Engadine, where he built a large church, and died in an advanced age, leaving no issue.[17]

[17] No event of these times has perhaps produced so great a profusion of controversial writings, memorials, and narratives, both in verse and prose, as these troubles,

CHAP. VII.

Disturbances at Zuric, &c.

5. *Peace of Westphalia.*

Besides the disastrous conflicts which had of late overwhelmed the Grison country with ruin and devastation, it may well be imagined that a conflagration so general as the war which, during thirty years, raged over the most populous parts of Europe, and for which the powerful incentive of religion was either the cause or the pretence, could not but in some measure implicate a country so centrical as the Helvetic cantons. These cantons accordingly were not blind to the dangers which surrounded them on all sides; and, that they might not be wholly unprepared against the insults they had reason to apprehend, they resolved to raise an adequate force to secure the inlets into their country. In order to defray the expences of this temporary armament, they agreed to raise a contribution on the property of the people at large, without exception of either rank, condition, or age. The proportion demanded, was the one thousandth part of the capitals; but the estimate of these capitals was wholly left to the honour and discretion of each individual, the quota being received without enquiry, or even taking any account of the sums delivered. Lenient and moderate as this mode of taxation

which, though they affected the whole Grison country, have been generally denominated *the war of the Valteline*. Besides those contained in the general histories, we have the Memoirs and Embassies of Bassompiere, de Coeuvre, Rohan, and other commanders and negotiators, which, though manifestly written in favour of the French party, must be admitted as authentic evidence.—'*La Valteline; ou Memoires, &c. sur les troubles en la Valteline, et au pays des Grisons,*' Genev. 1631; 8vo. is a valuable collection, ascribed to Anth. Molina: but the most complete history on the subject is *Fort. Sprecheri à Berneck, Historia Motuum et Bellorum in Rhætia gestorum.* Col. 1629. 4to. Even the Jesuit Quadrio, who, in his *Memoire sulla Valtelina*, has brought forward all the facts and arguments that can be adduced in favour of the Spanish party, acknowledges that Sprecher has written with much impartiality.

CHAP. VII.

must appear, it yet alarmed many, who thought a permanent tribute would infallibly be the consequence of a tame acquiescence. These persons fomented various insurrections in the Argau, the Emmenthal, and at Thun; but no where more effectually than in the canton of Zuric, where, in several towns and
1646. districts, particularly at Wadiswyl on the lake, it appeared evident that the requisition of the magistrates would be openly resisted. The senate on this occasion displayed an energy which, when it is combined with moderation, seldom fails to produce the desired effect: they peremptorily declined the interposition offered them by their neighbours; they suspended for a while the collection of the tax, but at the same time deputed some of their most distinguished members among the insurgents, with a sufficient force to give weight to their conciliatory exhortations, and, should these prove ineffectual, to compel submission. These vigorous measures soon produced the desired effect, and the authority of the senate was vindicated. The ringleaders were apprehended; two of them were beheaded at Zuric; several were fined and imprisoned; and the people, being now well apprised of the upright intentions of their government, returned to their allegiance, and readily submitted to the payment of the contribution. Ample rewards were, on the other hand, bestowed on several who, in the midst of the insurrection, had preserved their loyalty, and counteracted the views of the seditious; and some of them were even admitted into the burghership of the city.

Meanwhile the Swedish General Wrangel had actually penetrated to the borders of the lake of Constance, and by possessing himself of the town and castle of Bregenz, had obtained the command of the passes into the Tyrol, the Swiss

CHAP. VII.

Grison territories, and even into Italy. The French, under Marshal Turenne, co-operating with the Swedes, spread at the same time far along the northern frontiers of Helvetia, and were not always restrained by the neutrality the Swiss had determined to maintain. The archduke, who resided at Inspruck,[18] on the other hand, alleging the terms of the hereditary union that subsisted between Austria and the Confederates, demanded a supply of troops for the defence of his territories: but this, at so critical a juncture, was denied him; and he was obliged to content himself with a free passage for his detachments through the Grison country. Nor were the Italian frontiers less exposed to hostile attempts; the Spanish governor of Milan having, in order to guard against any sudden attack from the side of the Rhætian Alps, collected a considerable force, and secured all the posts and garrisons to the furthest extremity of the lake of Como. The Swiss, thus surrounded by contending armies, and aware of the dangers which threatened them on all sides, at once waved all private feuds and animosities, particularly the late discontents on account of the contributions, and sent deputies to a diet, which first assembled at Zuric, and afterwards, in order to be nearer to the scene of action, removed to the town of Wyl in Thurgau. This diet sent a deputation to General Wrangel, 1646. to remind him of the friendship that had long subsisted between his sovereign and their nation, and to remonstrate against his further approach towards their frontiers. The Swede not only returned a courteous answer, but also soon after, perhaps from other motives, led his forces into Franconia:

[18] Ferdinand Charles, nephew to the Emperor Ferdinand the Second.

CHAP. VII.

and the French likewise, about the same time, withdrew into the dutchy of Wurtemberg.

The belligerent powers, being at length weary of the incessant alarms, bloodshed, and devastation, they had for a series of years inflicted on these wretched countries, listened to offers of accommodation, and sent their plenipotentiaries to a congress, which met in the Westphalian cities of Munster and Osnabruck. The Confederates, though not immediately implicated in the war, resolved however not to lose the opportunity of establishing a right which had long been an object of contention between them and the empire. Some of the cantons, and particularly that of Basle, had often complained that their inhabitants were occasionally summoned before the imperial chamber of Spire, which assumed a jurisdiction the Swiss had never acknowledged, and against which they had repeatedly remonstrated with the emperor. This, and some other points of supremacy, which the cantons thought they had a right to assert, induced them to name a representative to the congress, in order to have their absolute independence authenticated by the general recognition of the principal powers of Europe. Their choice for this important mission fell on John Rudolph Wetstein, burgomaster of Basle, a man who, in every respect, proved himself worthy of the confidence that was placed in him on this occasion. He found great reluctance on the part of the imperialists; but the French and Swedish plenipotentiaries having shewn some inclination to favour the claim of the Confederates, the court of Vienna, unwilling that those two powers should have the sole merit of
1647. gratifying the Swiss nation, acquiesced gradually in their demands; and the confederacy was acknowledged, in the sixth

article of the treaty, as a state wholly independent of the empire, and hence in fact of every power or jurisdiction upon earth."[19]

5. *Insurrection of the Peasants.*

It is scarcely possible to contemplate the rapid alternation of broils and pacifications, remonstrances and compliance, resistance and coercion, that constitute the history of our species, more particularly in those states which boast of a considerable degree of liberty, without being led to a suspicion that a perfect calm is not congenial with human nature. The Helvetic polity had by this time acquired a degree of perfection which, one would imagine, ought to have insured a long interval of both foreign and domestic tranquillity. The people, under their mild government, had in general proved themselves tractable and forbearing; and they had recently witnessed a memorable example of the disastrous consequences of intestine strife, and unguarded credulity: yet numbers of those, in whose loyalty and candour the government placed the greatest con-

[19] The article is of too much importance to the political consequence of the confederacy not to be here inserted.

VI. Et comme sa Majesté Imperiale, sur les plaintes faites en presence de ses plenipotentiaires deputez en la presente assemblée, au nom de la ville de Basle et de toute la Suisse, touchant quelques procedures et mandemens executoires, emanez de la chambre imperiale, contre la dite ville et les autres cantons unis de Suisse, et leurs citoyens et sujets; ayant demandé l'avis et le conseil des etats de l'empire, auroit par un decret particulier du 14 May de l'année derniere, declaré la dite ville de Basle, et les autres cantons Suisses, estre en possession d'une quasi pleine liberté et exemption de l'empire, et ainsi n'estre aucunement sujets aux tribunaux et jugemens du même empire: il a été resolu que ce mesme decret soit tenu pour compris en ce traité de paix; qu'il demeure ferme et constant, et partant que toutes ces procedures et arrests donnez sur ce sujet, en quelque forme que ç'ait ésté, doivent estre de nulle valeur et effet.—V. Du Mont Corps Diplomat. t. vi. p. i. p. 479.

CHAP. VII.

fidence, suffered themselves on a sudden to be misled into an open revolt, which, though soon quelled by the vigour of the constitution, afforded another melancholy instance of man's untoward disposition.

Causes of the Revolt.

During the long and destructive war which had been lately terminated by the peace of Westphalia, the princes of the empire had been induced, by their necessities, to raise the nominal value of their larger coins to near the double of their intrinsic worth; and some of the Swiss cantons found it expedient, in order to preserve a due proportion between their fractional and this enhanced specie, to reduce their small coins to about half their standard weight. After the peace, the currency having been restored upon the old footing, the cantons of course ordered likewise their light money to be reduced, in its nominal, to the due proportional value; directing at the same time, that all rents and payments to the public treasury should, for a limited period, be received at the raised valuation. This, though in itself perfectly equitable, occasioned some confusion, which gave umbrage to the uninstructed peasants, and inclined them to suspect the wisdom or purity of their rulers.

About the same time the magistrates, in order to obviate the frequent scarcity of salt, one of the most necessary articles in a grazing country, and the damage that often accrued from an occasional want, and the usual bad quality of gunpowder, resolved to take these two branches of supply into their own hands, and in order to secure the public treasury against losses, to make the trade exclusive. The country people, although they had never perhaps reflected on the nature of a monopoly, were however easily led to consider these well meant regulations as

an encroachment upon their equal rights, and to murmur at the innovation. A duty newly laid upon the exportation of cattle, and an excise on wine, became additional causes of complaint: but above all, the conduct of several of the bailiffs, who being at this time still elected by the spontaneous votes of some of the principal officers of the state, often obtained their employments by corrupt means, and were hence not always deterred from extortionary practices in their administration, raised clamours which perhaps, of all others, were the least ill founded: and each town and village, the spirit of dissatisfaction having once gone abroad, had besides some peculiar grievance, which, the more trifling it was in reality, the more it was magnified, and eagerly brought forward for redress.

First Disturbances at Lucern. 1652.

The peasants of Lucern were the first who gave public marks of disaffection. Bordering upon the democratic cantons, they often, at their fairs and markets, met the shepherds from the Alps, who never failed to extol the sweets of their independence, and thus both alarmed their pride, and excited suspicions against their aristocratic rulers. The district of Entlibuch, which, as we have seen on a former occasion, contained a vigorous high-minded people,[20] sent deputies to the capital, to demand that either the coin should be restored to the value it had of late obtained, or that they should be allowed to pay their rents and public contributions in kind. The senate referred them to a committee, where they were treated with so little condescension, that they hastily withdrew, and filled the whole country with clamour and discontent.

1653.

Early in the next year came three collectors to a village in this district, and demanded certain dues. The peasants seized

[20] When they repulsed the English in 1375. See vol. i. p. 284.

CHAP. VII.

them, publicly tied and gagged them, and led them out of the village amidst a general tumult, declaring that should they, or any of their colleagues, return, they would meet with a treatment yet more severe. The senate took the alarm, and sent their avoyer, with a number of both ecclesiastical and secular deputies, to quiet the disturbance. These were received by the elders of the district with great solemnity, led to a house of public resort, and entertained with seeming cordiality and reverence; but not long after, the elders having gradually withdrawn, they saw themselves exposed to the fury of an enraged multitude, armed with clubs, and prone to any act of violence.

The next morning the insurgents hung out a white flag, and collected great numbers from all the neighbouring villages: they paraded, upwards of fourteen hundred in number, before the house where the deputies resided, and without shewing them the least mark of respect, repaired to the church. Hither they summoned the deputies, and in peremptory language demanded redress concerning the coin; that the monopoly of salt should be abolished; and that the fines exacted by the bailiffs, the excise on wine, certain tolls upon exportation, and some other imposts, be either reduced or wholly abrogated. The deputies in vain remonstrated that they were not authorized to make these concessions, and referred them to the supreme legislature; the peasants persisted in their demand that their wrongs be redressed within their district, and intimated that their neighbours of Berne were ready to join them, and to co-operate strenuously in the common cause. Berne, in fact, saw the necessity of using some precautions, symptoms of disaffection having manifested themselves in

several parts of its territories, particularly in the Emmenthal. One of the bannerets was dispatched to this valley, where he was indeed received with great marks of respect, but had several articles laid before him, which he was desired to ratify. He reported them to the senate, by whom however, he was ordered to withhold the desired assent.

The catholic cantons, with a view to restore tranquillity, sent a formal deputation to Lucern, which called upon the insurgents to lay their grievances, in temperate and respectful language, either before their own superiors, or before themselves, should they be accepted as arbitrators. The peasants upon this drew up seven-and-twenty articles, which the deputies transmitted to the senate, who, in answer, authorized them to accede to a few of them, but positively rejected the greater number. The peasants hereupon conceiving that they were treated with contempt, seized and confined the deputies, took possession of the principal posts in the country, cut off all communication with the city, and threatened the utmost violence. The magistrates now had recourse to the remedy which the constitution provided against such dangerous emergencies: they sent their requisition to Zuric, whereby they officially summoned all the cantons; and auxiliaries accordingly soon gathered from various quarters in and round Lucern. The insurgents being apprised of the vigorous measures that had been taken, abated of their virulence; they liberated the deputies, and requested them to offer terms of accommodation. These, forgetting the insult they had received, interceded in behalf of the deluded people, and obtained moderate conditions, which were ratified on the thirteenth of March, and restored a temporary tranquillity to the disordered state.

Appeased.

CHAP. VII.

The Peasants of Berne revolt.

While the spirit of sedition was thus for a time repressed in this canton, the contagion was observed to spread rapidly among the peasants of the Emmenthal, and other parts of the territories of Berne; who, when legally called upon to march to the relief of Lucern, refused, on various pretences, to obey the summons. From Thun in the south, to Bruck at the northern extremity of the canton, none preserved their allegiance, except the clergy, the municipal towns, and some opulent freeholders. While Zuric was devising means for bringing about a compromise, Shaffhausen, Basle, and Mulhausen, fomented the discontents by sending considerable bodies of armed men to Bruck and Arau, and urging the necessity of speedy coercion. The peasants spread the alarm throughout the country, came in force towards Arau, and exclaimed loudly against the intervention of foreign troops. The burghers of the towns on the Aar, having upon this engaged to defend their own walls, the auxiliaries withdrew.

The insurgents having gained this point, acquired additional audacity, and roamed throughout the country in wild disorder. Their numerous swarms were compared to the boisterous ocean, which alternately swells into tremendous billows, and again subsides into deep gulfs, both equally menacing destruction: they formed an assembly at Langenthal, which sent deputies to Berne to propose terms; declaring at the same time, that should their emissaries be detained, or any ways molested, they would immediately retaliate on the bailiffs, who, having remained on their posts, were within their power. This conference, and several subsequent meetings, proved ineffectual; the demands of the insurgents, as usual, rising in proportion as the government shewed a dispo-

sition to concede. Their leaders applied to France for aid, and offered an alliance; but de la Barde, the French ambassador, rejected the offer with disdain, and promised to cooperate earnestly with the magistrates against the seditious rabble. Meanwhile the deputies of the protestant cantons, with Waser, the burgomaster of Zuric, at their head, arrived at Berne: they urged the necessity of mutual concessions, and on the twenty-fifth of March actually brought about a compromise. The deputies of the insurgents were, with much reluctance, prevailed upon to make a previous atonement to the injured honour of the sovereign, and to ask forgiveness of the assembled council on their knees: they then laid open their complaints, some of which were immediately redressed, and others were reserved for future consideration.

Joined by those of Lucern.

This accommodation had scarcely been concluded, when the peasants of Lucern renewed their seditious practices, and spread tumult and rebellion throughout the greatest part of the confederate states. No sooner had the people of Entlibuch, and three other bailiwicks, heard the award of the arbitrators, than they exclaimed against several articles, and declared their determined purpose to resist them all: they not only resumed their clubs, but sent private emissaries to most parts of Swisserland, to excite the country people against their magistrates. The subjects of Berne were foremost in joining the conspiracy: they reprobated the genuflexion of their deputies before the sovereign council, and refused the avowal of submission demanded of them. Numbers of them assembled on the thirteenth of April, at Sumiswald in the Emmenthal, and were met by deputies from various districts of Lucern, Basle, and Soleure, which had broken out in open

CHAP. VII.

Head d by Leuenberger.

rebellion. They here chose Nicholas Leuenberger, a peasant of Schoenholz, in the parish of Ruderswyl, for their leader; and agreed on several points, which, considering the nature of the meeting, had more moderation in them than could have been expected. They held a second meeting, on the thirtieth of April, at Hutwyl, and summoned all the subjects of the confederate states to join in the common cause. They now proceeded to station guards, to break open letters, to detain messengers, and to seize all the burghers of Berne that came within their reach. They drove one of the bailiffs from his residence; at Wangen they insulted and mangled all those who refused to join them; and advancing up the Aar, spread consternation to the very gates of Berne, which however, the magistrates never ordered to be shut, still admitting free passage to the insurgents as well as to their loyal citizens. The insolence of the leaders grew to a pitch that became offensive even to some of their own adherents. Another meeting was held at Hutwyl on the fourth of May, which called upon the magistrates of Berne to send a deputation, charging them withal to select for this purpose men of conciliating dispositions, and naming those that would be most acceptable.

Various Negotiations.

A general diet of the confederacy was meanwhile held at Baden, which offered to negotiate with the malcontents, and to take the most effectual steps towards terminating the unhappy differences. The peasants of Lucern sent deputies, but with instructions not to recede from a single point of their demands. No one appeared in behalf of the Berners; and thus were the pacific intentions of the diet wholly frustrated.

The magistrates of Berne were at the same time so desirous to restore tranquillity by means of friendly negotiation, that they readily agreed to treat with the insurgents; and in compliance with the requisition of the meeting at Hutwyl, sent six members of their great council, and two ecclesiastics, to confer with Leuenberger and his associates. The negotiation at first bore a favourable aspect, both parties seeming inclined to make reasonable concessions; but the insurgents being apprised of large reinforcements that were approaching from different parts of the four seditious cantons, the leaders assumed an overbearing spirit, kept the deputies waiting five hours in an outward room, while they renewed their compact with the heads of the collecting bands, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to take exemplary vengeance on all who should dare to violate the union. The deputies, finding their endeavours to calm the tumultuous assembly ineffectual, withdrew; but sent immediately to propose another meeting at Langenthal. Leuenberger accepted the offer; but among other scornful intimations, he admonished them, in his answer, by all means to use obsequious language, lest they should irritate the people; and insisted that the meeting should be held in the open air. The conferences accordingly were opened on the sixth of May, but proved equally abortive; the deputies of Berne declining to treat with any but their own subjects, which the heads of the insurgents, considering the exception as an attempt to estrange them from each other, rejected with indignation.

On the following day the Bernese deputies appeared once more among the insurgents, and read to them a written declaration of the ample concessions the government was willing

CHAP. VII.

to make, which amounted nearly to the whole of wha t had been demanded; but the more one side receded, the higher the pretensions of the other rose: and the deputies at length, perceiving that the rebels were determined to prescribe unlimited conditions, returned to Berne. Leuenberger, and Shybi his principal coadjutor, continued to sow the seeds of sedition throughout the country: they compelled the Bailiff of Arwangen to order the garrison to evacuate his castle, and threatened to cut off all supplies from the capital, unless their demands were immediately complied with. The magistrates made a last effort to dispel the storm without having recourse to arms: they offered an appeal to the constitutional arbitration of the whole confederacy: but this also was rejected; and force, it was now evident, was the only remedy left against the spreading evil.

Hostilities.

On the tenth of May the sovereign council invested Sigismund d'Erlach with the chief command of the forces of the republic. The troops dispersed in the Pays de Vaud, and on the lakes of Neuchattel and Bienne, were ordered to assemble, and approach the city; and the neighbouring cantons were called upon for speedy succour. Zuric issued the formal summons for a general armament; and the whole country assumed a hostile and formidable aspect. The rebels meanwhile were not remiss, they assembled from all parts. On the eleventh of May they seized on the important pass of Gumminen; some besieged the town of Arberg, others occupied the strong post at Windish, while numbers, being joined by the people of the free bailiwicks, entered the town of Mellingen on the Reuss. In order to preserve a free communication with the insurgents of Basle, they endeavoured to obtain possession of the towns

of Bruck, Arau, and Zoffingen; but they failed in these attempts. A body so numerous, undisciplined, acting without concert, and without experienced leaders, soon felt a want of effective energy in its operations. When the force which the senate had ordered to approach from Neuville came to the gates of Arberg, it found the place evacuated, and no enemy in the vicinity. The peasants of Lucern, who were not the least adventurous, attempted their capital; but the auxiliaries, which had been called in from Zug and the forest cantons, effectually secured the city from all insult. The greatest number of the rebels had collected round Leuenberger, who had fixed his head quarters at Oster-Mundingen, a village a few miles from Berne. These committed every kind of depredation all around them: they plundered the country houses, emptied the granaries and wine cellars, seized the cattle, spoiled the lands, and exerted all manner of violence on the inhabitants who were unfriendly to their cause. At length the Berners drew out their forces, and led some heavy cannon against the licentious multitude; and Leuenberger seeing this formidable appearance of resistance, demanded a parley, which was readily granted; but this also without effect. An accommodation was indeed signed on the fourteenth of May, but on the next day the peasants renewed their pillage: and the magistrates at length, weary of so much fickleness and treachery, shut their gates, and resolved to listen to no terms short of absolute submission.[21]

[21] During this predatory warfare, several parleys took place between the contending parties, which proved the reluctance of the government of Berne to proceed to extremities. They are circumstantially related by Lauffer and Meister, but as they were all, in the end, nugatory and of no effect, the reader will probably be pleased

CHAP. VII.

By this time an ample force had assembled near Zuric, consisting of five thousand men from the catholic, and eight thousand from the other cantons: the former were led by General Zweyer of Uri, a man of tried abilities both in the field and cabinet; and the latter, by General Werdmuller of Zuric, who took the command of the whole army. On the twenty-first of May, Werdmuller advanced before Mellingen, and the insurgents immediately fled towards Lenzburg: they tolled all the alarm bells, and sent a letter to Berne, complaining, in the usual style of rebels, that the government had broken their faith towards them, and denouncing God's vengeance against such perfidy. To various other extravagant invocations they added, 'We implore the most holy 'Trinity, from the inmost of our hearts, to grant us grace 'and vigour to maintain our just rights, to repel the armies of 'our relentless foes, and to sink them into the bottom of the 'sea, as it formerly did the host of Pharaoh! May God lead 'us, his people, whom he has redeemed with his roseate blood, 'through this tribulation, this stormy sea of gore, and vindi-'cate a cause, in which we are resolved to stake our honour, 'our property, and our lives!'

On the twenty-third, Werdmuller advanced some parties towards the posts of the insurgents, who, not knowing how to repel them, immediately demanded to treat. On the following day however, such numbers having flocked to their standards as to render their army near twenty thousand strong, they rejected the conference that had been agreed upon; and

to be dispensed with the particulars of them, as well as of the alternate insolence and pusillanimity of the insurgents, according as their prospects were either favourable or gloomy.

Leuenberger and Shybi resolved once more to adopt offensive measures. The insurgents immediately attacked the town of Zoffingen, in hopes to cut off the communication between the upper and lower Argau, but they failed in this attempt; nor were they more successful at Mellingen, where they were repulsed with loss, having felt the destructive effects of the heavy cannon of the Confederates. They now again offered to treat, and on the twenty-fifth sent forty deputies to the camp of Werdmuller. They proposed their terms; but the council of war replied, that it was not for rebels to exact conditions; that they should all, without delay, return to their several homes, and leave the adjustment of the differences, and the punishment of the ringleaders, to the discretion of the magistrates. The deputies ostensibly submitted to these terms, and agreed that the insurgents should lay down their arms.

The troops of Berne had meanwhile encamped at Wangen; and Leuenberger, anxious to extricate himself from the dangers which pressed upon him on every side, sent a letter to Berne to implore mercy, but at the same time claiming the conditions of preceding compromises: on the same day he wrote also to the council of war at Mellingen, declaring that, upon a general amnesty, he would abstain from all hostilities, and dismiss his associates. The magistrates of Berne answered, that the rebels had forfeited every concession that had been made them in former treaties; and that they must abide the fate of arms. Erlach advanced to Langenthal, and drove the insurgents before him to the village of Herzogenbuchs. Here they made a stand; and here the battle was fought, which put an end to the disturbances that at one time had threatened the total subversion of the government. Erlach,

The Insurgents defeated.

CHAP. VII.

with a view of surrounding the rebels, and reducing them without bloodshed, approached them in three columns; but they resisted each of them with great bravery: wherever they were compelled to yield, they obstinately disputed every hedge and ditch; and being driven into the village, withdrew from house to house, defending each of them to the last extremity. Being at length driven towards the church, they availed themselves of a strong wall that surrounded the burying-ground, and made a desperate stand: they fought like lions; but being at length overpowered, they set fire to the village, and fled into the woods. Sixty of them were taken, and proceeded against in a summary manner by a council of war, which ordered several of them to be instantly put to death, and punished others by fines, imprisonment, and exile. The arms were now delivered in at the castles; many of the ringleaders were surrendered; and the oath of allegiance was repeated in every district. Seven of the chiefs, men of a venerable aspect, with hoary heads and spreading beards, were conducted to Basle, and there publicly beheaded: they acknowledged their guilt, and prayed of God and the magistrates to forgive them. Shybi was taken in Entlibuch, and brought before a council of war at Zoffingen, where he was sentenced to death, and executed. Leuenberger, after his defeat, had returned to his home, where he hoped to lay concealed; but was betrayed by a fellow conspirator and neighbour, and seized in the night by the bailiff, who sent him, together with various papers found in his house, to the prison at Berne. He persevered long in his audacity; but the rack at length extorted from him a confession of the whole proceeding, the names of the principal agitators, and an avowal of the

dangerous designs of the revolters: his papers confirmed his guilt: he was sentenced to be beheaded. His head, together with the written document of the conspiracy, were nailed to the gallows; and his limbs were exposed on the highways. The peasant who officiated as his secretary was likewise beheaded, and another of the leaders was hanged. The rebels of Lucern, among whom were even some of the burghers, were, at the intercession of the four neighbouring cantons, admitted to a lenient compromise. Those of Entlibuch alone persisted in their contumacy, until they were compelled by force to accept of terms, less favourable indeed, but yet far from rigorous.

Many of the insurgents had fled out of the country, and about forty of them were seen near Frankfort, who declared that they were going to the Duke of Lorrain, upon whom they hoped to prevail to invade their country, and avenge their cause: but the emperor,[22] reprobating the cause of rebels, published a manifesto, banishing those who should take refuge in his dominions, and calling upon all his dependents to use the same precaution. This measure was the more important, as it prevented the interference of several states, who might have thought it their interest to foment the troubles which had threatened to subvert the government and constitution of the confederacy.

7. *Miscellaneous Incidents.*

Although the event related in the preceding section had no immediate reference to the Reformation, yet it was surely of too great a magnitude, and affords matter of too much serious

[22] Ferdinand the Third.

CHAP. VII.

meditation to the contemplative mind, to be wholly omitted in its chronological order. Our notice will now be attracted by incidents which, while they manifest the anxious zeal of the protestant Confederates for the furtherance of the religion they had adopted, will at the same time prove the estimation in which they were held by distant powers, who, in many instances, appear to have considered them as the most strenuous supporters, and indeed the chief prop of the regenerated church.

Stocker's Mission to England. (1650.)

William the Second, Prince of Orange, son-in-law to King Charles the First, died about this time, leaving only an infant son[23] to inherit the high honours and offices he had held in the united provinces: and Cromwell, ever solicitous to reduce the power, and lower the consequence of every branch of the royal house, endeavoured to persuade the Batavians that their government stood in no more need of a stadtholder, than that of England, as he asserted, did of a king. A strong party in Holland however, could not be brought to acquiesce in this assumption: and the disputes occasioned by this contrariety of opinion gave rise to a bloody war. The protestants in the Alps, foreboding the fatal consequences that would necessarily accrue to the cause of religion from a conflict between two nations which, being allied by the bonds of faith, ought to have warmly co-operated in support of its interests, beheld the contest with deep regret, and resolved, if possible, to check its progress by their mediation. After several epistolary admonitions to both parties, which failed of the desired success, they at length resolved to send a delegate, amply qualified and instructed, to soothe the animosities that prevailed in both

[23] Afterwards King William the Third.

countries, and to use the best means that could be devised to bring about a reconciliation. Their choice for this purpose fell upon John Jacob Stocker, Greffier of Shaffhausen, whose success in this delicate negotiation fully justified the appointment, and the high estimation in which he was held by his countrymen. He set out on his mission upon the twentieth of February, and to avoid the disturbances that prevailed in France, travelled through Germany. At Hamburg he met Langerfeld, a Swedish minister, sent by Queen Christina for the same purpose of appeasing this unhappy strife. Wishing to anticipate this coadjutor, Stocker made all possible dispatch to Dunkirk, and there embarked. Being arrived in London, he was immediately conducted to the speaker Lenthal, by John Duræus, the zealous advocate of an union between all the protestant churches; and it was not long before Cromwell admitted him to an audience. Not being attended by a suitable retinue, he declined the honours of a public character, and conferred privately with eight members of the privy council, who were deputed for the purpose. He met with great obstacles in his negotiation, insomuch that, despairing of success, he made a report to his superiors, which induced them to recall him: but, having postponed his departure till after Cromwell had obtained the protectorship, he had the satisfaction of seeing the wished-for pacification concluded, and of being assured by the usurper that he had been greatly instrumental in bringing about that happy event. Cromwell sought his conversation, and drew from him much information concerning the Swiss governments and their policy. The honours paid him far exceeded those that were bestowed upon the Venetian minister. He was dismissed with unusual

CHAP. VII.

1653.

1654.

CHAP. VII.

presents, and sent to Holland in a frigate. He then repaired to the Hague, where he was received with cordiality and respect. The people flocked around him, to see 'the honest Swiss who 'came from his mountains for the generous purpose of pacifi-'cation and harmony.' He effected the ratification of the treaty, and returning to his native city, received the thanks of his employers. Duræus, accompanied by John Pell, the famed mathematician, came soon after with credentials to Swisserland, to negotiate the union of the churches; but their endeavours proved ineffectual.

Interference in favour of the Vaudois.

Another society of protestants soon after experienced a persecution, which called forth the commiseration and earnest interference of the cantons. The inhabitants of Luserna, Angrognia, Torre, Campiglione, and other towns and villages

1655.

in the valleys of Piedmont, who had embraced the Reformation, and were known by the name of the Vaudois, were, by order of their duke, compelled, in the depth of winter, to abandon their dwellings, and with their wives and children, either to fly to remote places assigned for, but which could not contain them, or to resort to woods and caverns, where many of them perished of cold and hunger. Many, urged by the extremity of want, preferred encountering the dangers of the persecution to a lingering death, and returned to their houses, which they found completely despoiled of all they had left behind them. The four reformed cantons being apprised of the sufferings of this people, not only petitioned their sovereign to restore them, but also dispatched urgent solicitations to the other protestant states to intercede in their behalf, and to contribute towards the relief of which they were in immediate want. Their charitable endeavours were crowned with success:

Cromwell in particular supplied ample sums: and the unhappy sufferers who had survived the calamity were reinstated in their habitations, and allowed to enjoy a tranquillity, which however was not of long duration.

The Defensional.

The Swiss, as long as the county of Burgundy remained in the possession of the Spanish monarchy, felt little apprehension concerning the safety of their western frontier; and confiding in the natural strength of most of their other boundaries, had not yet established any general rule for the defence of their country against invasion. The unexpected seizure of that contiguous province, by Lewis the Fourteenth, although it was soon after restored at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, first 1668.
roused their apprehensions, and induced them to consider of a set of ordinances for effectually combining their forces, in case of an attack from foreign powers. At a general diet held at Baden, a regulation was accordingly agreed upon, which, under the name of the *Defensional*, has to our days been considered as the military code for the protection of the country. The quota of men to be supplied by every canton and its dependencies was here stipulated:[24] the numbers that were to assemble at the first summons were rated so as to form an aggregate of thirteen thousand four hundred men; and at a second and third requisition, this number was to be doubled and trebled. Stations were assigned for the rendezvous of the troops; the number and appointment of officers was provided for; articles of war were framed for enforcing subordination and discipline; and ample powers were vested in a council of war for speedy and vigorous exertions. At a 1673.

[24] For these numbers see the Statistical Tables in the next Chapter.

CHAP. VII.

subsequent diet, provision was made for the fortification of the passes and frontier towns, and the supply of stores and ammunition; and funds were assigned for the expences necessary in case of an emergency.

The Formula Consensus.

The most arrogant of men, if he ever seriously reflects on the capacity of his mental powers, will, no doubt, be compelled to admit the enormous, or rather incommensurate disproportion between the nature and attributes of the divinity, and the limited extent of the faculties of the human mind. This necessarily implies, in the religion dictated by God himself, a set of doctrinal points, which the most powerful energies of the human intellects cannot compass: and hence revelation must be expected to contain some mysteries, which, provided the rules of practice necessary for our salvation are sufficiently obvious, it will be our duty to admit on traditional evidence; to believe, and not to scrutinize. The protestant clergy, who, having derived their tenets from the purest source, the manifestation of God's will in holy writ, ought more than others to have admitted this important limitation, did not however abstain from controversies, and even sometimes from persecutions respecting the most abstruse points of faith: and thus the doctrines of the trinity, of predestination, of grace, atonement, and others equally inscrutable, soon became the grounds of schisms in the church, which true Christian forbearance might have obviated. To prevent an infinite divergency of opinions, each sect, when it had acquired an establishment, thought it necessary to propose a test of conformity to which its votaries should be restricted. Thus the confession of Augsburg, the decrees of the synod of Dort, the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican church, and the

creed promulgated by Calvin, Farel, and Bullinger, were brought forward as standards of faith and ecclesiastical discipline, to obviate the pernicious effects of endless controversy. The latter of these however, was soon found inadequate to insure the tranquillity of the Helvetic church, where recently the new-fangled doctrines on election propagated by Moses Amyraut, and certain doubts of Lewis Capello concerning the vocal points in the Hebrew text, had excited some dangerous dissensions. The clergy, among whom John Henry Heidegger took the lead, after much correspondence and many conferences, at length framed a code, consisting of five-and-twenty articles, which, under the name of the *Formula Consensus*, was confirmed by a synod at Zuric, and soon after 1675. adopted by the three other cantons, the protestants of Glaris and Appenzel, the Grisons, St. Gallen, Mulhausen, Bienne, and Neuchattel. Although it was proposed, as the rule of faith and discipline, to be subscribed by all who entered into orders, yet, except at Berne and Zuric, it soon received some modifications, which were sanctioned by the magistrates. A striking instance was soon after given by the cantons how limited their forbearance was in matters of religion. An edict had been published in Sweden, ordering that all children should be baptized by Lutheran ministers. The Elector of Brandenburg called upon the Swiss, as champions of the reformed church, to interfere in this restraint upon religious liberty; and they actually sent a strong remonstrance demanding a repeal of the injunction. Toleration has often extended no further than a permission to coincide with us in our own opinions.

In no instance did the tender solicitude of the protestant

CHAP. VII.

Reception of the Hugenots,

Confederates, in favour of their persecuted brethren, manifest itself more seasonably and with greater effect, than at the time when the Hugenots, who, after they had for near a century, under the sanction of two solemn edicts,[25] enjoyed a toleration which had been equally beneficial to themselves and to their country, were compelled to forsake their homes, their friends, relations, and domestic comforts, and to seek refuge among strangers, upon whom they had no other claim than a conformity in religion, and their own accumulated distresses. Lewis the Fourteenth, urged by his own prejudices, and by the bigotry of the priests and concubines whom he suffered to influence his conduct, commenced a persecution, for which a degree of fanaticism and of discord among the unhappy victims, were alleged as plausible pretences. The cruelties
1682. practised by the military apostles, who were sent to convert them, grew by degrees to such an excess, that many of them, of all ranks and conditions, encountered the greatest difficulties and dangers, in order to avoid the horrors of the inhuman *Dragonades*, to which they had been of late exposed. Many fled to England and Holland; but the greatest number, allured by the vicinity, the similarity of language, and other inviting circumstances, resorted to Geneva and the Pays de Vaud, where they were received with sympathising cordiality, and met with immediate succour. A pathetic detail of the cruelties they had endured, which they laid before the magistrates, cast an odium upon the French government not yet effaced by a long succession of years. 'The horrid massacre,' they said, 'which, on the day of St. Bartholomew, exterminated thirty 'thousand of our brethren, bears no comparison with the

[25] Granted at Nantes in 1598, and at Nimes in 1629.

'atrocious cruelties that are now practised upon the unhappy 'protestants in France. They are delivered over to the wanton 'barbarity of soldiers, who, as instruments of the arch-fiend, 'the dragon, of whose name and nature they partake, delight 'in dispensing misery all around them. These force themselves, by fifties and hundreds, into the houses of the victims 'they have marked, consume their provisions, burn and spoil 'their effects, drag them by the hair into the churches, and 'thrust those who resist into sacks, and roll them in the 'streets: they suspend numbers in chimnies, over slow fires, 'where they suffer them to perish in dreadful agonies: they 'pour boiling liquids down their throats, and consume their 'entrails: they strip the women, drive them naked through 'the streets, and inflict all manner of violence and indignity 'upon them: those who shew more firmness than the rest, 'they thrust into convents, scourge them, deprive them of 'sleep, and otherways torment them, till they either conform, 'or find relief in the derangement of their mental faculties. 'In a word, there is not a torment of hell they have not devised to afflict this wretched people. All their execrable 'precautions however, could not prevent many of us from 'escaping from their fury: but the numbers who take refuge 'within your territories daily increasing, we fear lest we 'should become an incumbrance; and hence solicit that you 'will intercede for us and our brethren, with other protestant 'states, and generously afford us the means of resorting to 'some distant regions, where, being more dispersed, we may 'be less burdensome to those who shall vouchsafe to afford us 'an asylum.'

At two diets of the protestant cantons, held at Arau, in the

CHAP. VII.

month of October, measures were taken for the relief of these unhappy sufferers. Some thousands were dispersed throughout the towns and villages, especially in the Pays de Vaud, and supplied with food, raiment, and other necessaries. At a public fast-day, ordered on the occasion, large sums were collected, which were appropriated, not only for supplying the wants of the refugees, but also, should occasion offer, for affording assistance to those of their brethren who had not been so fortunate as to escape the horrors of the persecution. These cantons also sent strong admonitions to the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Duke of Wurtemberg, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and other German princes, in whose territories these martyrs to their creed were immediately allowed to colonize, and received benefits adequate to their wants and sufferings.

and the Vaudois.

Not content with exterminating the protestants in his own dominions, the French king prevailed now also upon the Duke of Savoy to renew the persecution of his evangelical subjects

1686.

in the valleys of Piedmont. In the month of January, in the midst of the rigours of a severe winter, and notwithstanding their own lowly supplications, and the intercessions of many states and princes, the duke issued an order for them immediately to evacuate his territories. Some of them vainly attempted to maintain themselves by force; and by their rashness irritated the sovereign to a degree that proved fatal to the urgent mediation of the protestant cantons, whose deputies appeared at the court of Turin towards the end of February, but were refused all their requests, except the leave to go among the deluded people, and exhort them to submission. Here also their admonitions proved ineffectual:

the duke had recourse to arms; and all were driven from their habitations. Towards the end of December, the diet of Arau agreed upon a regulation for distributing these exiles in different parts of their territories. It was here decreed, that out of every hundred of them, Zuric should provide for twenty-eight, Berne forty-four, Basle thirteen, Shaffhausen nine, and St. Gallen six. The proportion that, according to this rate, the city of Zuric admitted, amounted to no less than seven hundred. The cantons, unable to provide for the whole influx, negotiated with various German princes, and with the states-general, for adequate settlements for the numbers they could not retain; and received great encouragement from the Elector of Brandenburg, who offered considerable tracts of land for colonies, and ample provision for their establishment.[26] The Vaudois, on the other hand, shewed the greatest reluctance to remove to a region so remote and inclement, especially after having experienced the hospitality and genial temperature of the Helvetic dales. Some, rather than wander to that distance, took refuge in the palatinate, and the dutchy of Wurtemberg; but many, yielding to the insuperable love of their country, collected arms, and actually prepared to force their way back to their native soil, fully determined to await either the compassion of the relenting government, or their own final extermination. The cantons opposed, both by persuasion and some force, the execution of this extravagant 1688.

[26] About this time (in November, 1687) arrived in Swisserland an English agent, named Coxe, who offered to negotiate for a supply of four thousand Helvetic troops: his proposal was readily accepted by the protestant cantons, who paid no regard to the umbrage this gave to the catholics; but the terms offered on both sides were inadmissible, and the whole plan soon proved abortive.

CHAP. VII.

design, and hostilities were near commencing between the parties, when, the French having entered the palatinate, all those who had fled into that country were driven back upon the frontiers of Swisserland. These felt the extremes of misery, having for a time been reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon the wild produce of the field, and, half-naked, to seek shelter in the woods and caverns. The diet at Arau, seeing no other alternative but either to admit them once more, or to abandon them to certain perdition, preferred the former, on a positive promise from the head of each family, that early in the next spring they would seek an asylum elsewhere.

1689. The spring arrived, and no steps were taken for fulfilling this promise. The cantons grew weary of the perverseness of their guests; and having supplied them with money for a distant journey, reconducted them to the frontiers. Hence, however, these unhappy sufferers immediately returned, and having once more collected arms at St. Gallen, Neuchattel, and Geneva, they again prepared to force their way to their native valleys by different roads. A body of fifteen hundred, most of whom however were French refugees, crossed the lake of Geneva unobserved, proceeded to Salenche in Faucigny, and reached, without any considerable opposition, the summit of mount Cenis: they here met with some of the Piedmontese cavalry; but they surmounted every obstacle, and actually arrived at Bobbio, one of their original seats. Here they would infallibly have been crushed, had not the Duke of Savoy, about this time, in a war that broke out between France and the empire, fortunately for them, abandoned the former, and sided with the latter. Being aware of the utility

he might derive from these people, in repelling the attacks he had to expect from France, he not only reinstated those who had thus ventured to return, but also proclaimed his permission for all who had wandered to distant parts, to re- 1690.
visit their ancient habitations. Accordingly seven hundred from Brandenburg, and about one hundred who had settled in Wurtemberg, met near Shaffhausen, and were allowed to proceed through the Rheinthal and the Grison country, to Chiavenna; being throughout this tract hospitably entertained, and supplied with all things requisite for the continuation of their journey. Having arrived in their valleys, they found the devastation so great, that they saw themselves compelled to have once more recourse to their Helvetian brethren and benefactors. These not only contributed largely towards relieving their present wants, but obtained also ample supplies from other powers, towards which England was no moderate contributor.

This however, proved, like those they had received before, but a temporary respite from persecution. Three years had scarcely elapsed before this devoted people experienced fresh outrages, which drove many of them to their former retreats among the 1694.
Confederates, who being already over-burdened with French refugees, thought it incumbent on them to seek every opportunity to exonerate themselves of at least a part of this oppressive load. They conferred with Viscount Galloway, who, at this time, made some stay at Zuric on his return from his residence at Turin in a public character, in order to provide some place of refuge for this wretched people in the British isles. He gave them hopes of a speedy settlement in Ireland; and this expectation induced the cantons to retain

CHAP. VII.

their guests till the intended plan could be carried into execution. Four years after, no progress having been made in
1698. the proposed establishment, the refugees themselves, of both nations (now increased by upwards of three thousand fresh Vaudois emigrants) sent some of their own ministers to England, Holland, Brandenburg, and other protestant states, to solicit, in the most pressing manner, either a district to dwell in, or some pecuniary relief. In the spring of the fol-
1699. lowing year, great numbers, having received considerable supplies from the cantons, actually departed, and dispersed themselves in various parts of Wurtemberg, Hessia, Brandenburg, Luneburg, Holstein, and other countries, where colonies are still extant, which retain their language, their habits, their peculiar pastors, and form of worship, and have no ways assimilated with the natives. Of the sums which these visitors have cost the protestant cantons, during the many years they were their principal supporters, some conjecture may be formed from the public accounts of the city of Zuric, from which it appears, that above four hundred thousand florins had been supplied by this single state from the public funds; the private contributions, of which no estimate can be made, being besides known to have extended to an amount by no means inconsiderable.

Succession to Neuchatel. 1694.

On the death of John Lewis, Duke (who, having entered into holy orders, was likewise called the Abbé) of Longueville, the principality of Neuchattel, which near two centuries before had devolved to his family by marriage,[27] was claimed by his sister the dutchess, more usually known by the name of Madame de Nemours. Her title was indeed contested by the Prince of Conti, who produced a will of the deceased abbé;

[27] See Vol. II. p. 91.

and even by William the Third of England, as representative of the house of Chalons, formerly the lords paramount of that province: but both these claimants, and especially the French king, who warmly supported the title of Conti, were at length, in a great measure through the vigorous exertions of the Swiss cantons, brought to yield to the award of the states of the country, who decided in favour of the dutchess. On her demise however without issue, the contest for the succession 1707. became much more violent and intricate; no less than thirteen pretenders of the houses of Chalons, Nassau-Orange, and Longueville; and even the canton of Uri, which had never acceded to the surrender of this province, formerly made by the other cantons, to the first sovereign of the house of Longueville, entered the lists for the inheritance. The question was once more referred to the states; and these, after having established a code for the administration of their country, decided in favour of the King of Prussia, as representative of the Princes of Nassau-Orange, and ultimately of the house of Chalons. This award was solemnly confirmed at the peace of Utrecht.

8. *War of Tockenburg.*

Preparatory Incidents.

The bold and hardy race inhabiting the long narrow valleys at the head of the Thur, had from time immemorial acknowledged the supreme authority of a succession of counts, from whom they repeatedly obtained franchises which, probably, considering their own energy, and their situation among free-minded neighbours, could not easily be withheld from them. Count Donatus conferred on them a charter of liber- (1399.) ties, which he bound all his successors to confirm before they

CHAP. VII.

could claim the homage of their subjects. But none was so munificent as Count Frederick, the last male of that ancient race; who, regardless of the interests of the several competitors, who he knew would, after his demise, raise a warm contest for his succession, added to the many prerogatives already possessed by the people, new privileges, which collectively bordered upon independence. Among these, none had a greater tendency towards their absolute emancipation, than his authorizing them to form alliances with the cantons of Schwitz and Glaris: and in fact, soon after his demise, which was followed by the severe conflict that led to the war of (1440.) Zuric,[28] they entered into a close union with those two cantons, which has subsisted to our days, and has often been the means of restraining the arbitrary attempts of their subsequent lords. The two barons, Hildebrand and Peterman de Raron, to whom the widow of Count Frederick had ceded her dubious right to the succession, granted to the principal districts of this country four additional charters, enlarging and confirming their municipal privileges, which they continued to enjoy without interruption as long as their territory remained in the dependence of that family. This period, unhappily, was not of long duration; the abovementioned Peterman having, on his succeeding to the whole county by the death of his brother, and being himself without male issue, listened to the offers of Ulric, Abbot of St. Gallen, for the (1468.) purchase of the province; and actually accepted for the same, the sum of fourteen thousand five hundred florins, reserving to the people all the rights and immunities irrevocably granted them by their former sovereigns. The successors of this abbot

[28] See Book II. chap. 2.

have ever since retained the possession of this county, until the late invasion put a period to all property.

Ulric, who bore with impatience the restraints laid upon him by the ample immunities of the people, neglected no opportunity that offered, or that he could create, for abridging them; and with this view he, in his prelatic as well as secular capacity, demanded and obtained an alliance with Schwitz and Glaris, the terms of which were not altogether consistent with the previous union between those cantons and the Tockenburghers. Subsequent abbots pursued the same course, and the cantons shewing a manifest partiality in favour of the abbot, from whom they derived greater advantages than from the people, the latter found themselves, at first by slow and imperceptible degrees, and afterwards openly and avowedly, stripped of most of the rights and exemptions, to which they knew they had an unquestionable claim.

Soon after came the reformation, which made a rapid progress in the valley of Tockenburg, and afforded to the abbot frequent and specious pretences for laying new restraints upon the people; the plea of counteracting heresy being, by him and his advisers, considered as an ample justification of every harsh proceeding. Frequent appeals were made to the two cantons, which, by virtue of the double union, were arbitrators in all cases of dispute; but the cause of orthodoxy was so prevalent in those cantons, that the protestants of the valleys could seldom obtain the redress to which impartial men thought them entitled. In one of these appeals the abbot (1510.) ventured to call the people *his slaves*, and was not censured by the arbitrators: he soon after industriously availed himself of the religious animosities of the people to establish his own

CHAP. VII.

courts of judicature, from which he would no longer suffer an appeal; and having succeeded in this, he appropriated all
(1539.) fines to his own use, and assumed the right, which had been formally granted to the people, of naming the magistrates. Few protestants after this, it may be imagined, were admitted
(1543.) to stations of any pre-eminence. He was next induced to seize on all ecclesiastical preferments, and claimed the right of administering all church revenues: and after having long ex-
(1621.) ercised an almost absolute sway in civil matters, he at length also assumed the right of regulating all military affairs.

These gradual encroachments, and the supineness of Schwitz and Glaris, did not escape the notice of the protestant cantons; and Zuric in particular, having been apprised of the grievances sustained by their brethren in the adjacent valleys, and claiming the right given them by the confederacy (of which the abbot and his territories were members) of interfering in matters that related to the body at large, and espe-
(1634.) cially to religious toleration, moved in a diet, that deputies should be sent to the prelate to intercede in favour of the in-
(1663.) sulted people. This measure having proved ineffectual, a second deputation was sent, after a long interval, but with no better success; and towards the end of the century, the abbot found means to establish a despotism which proved equally galling to his injured subjects of both persuasions. Both loudly complained, and now saw themselves jointly reduced to the desperate alternative of either recurring to the dangerous expedient of resistance, or of being oppressed under an ignominious yoke. Having resolved to seek redress, their first step was a legal appeal to the two allied cantons, before whom they laid their
1702. grievances, and ample evidence of the truth of their allegations.

CHAP. VII.

The canton of Schwitz made an award which, in the main, proved unfavourable to the plaintiffs; but Glaris came to a determination to afford relief to the oppressed, and for this purpose to call upon all parties to renew the ancient compacts, and thereby restore all former privileges, and remove every cause of future complaint. Schwitz at length yielded to the forcible arguments of Glaris; and a day was appointed for the renewal and solemn confirmation of the general union. The abbot[29] not only rejected the offer, but, when the deputies of the cantons came to the valleys of Tockenburg to attend the solemnity, they were even impeded by his officers, and every obstacle was raised against the intended pacification. Finding that the two cantons would not desist from their purpose, he made an appeal to the Helvetic law of arbitration. Not meeting here with the countenance he expected, he forfeited his allegiance to the confederacy by entering into a defensive treaty with the Emperor Leopold the First, as Archduke of Austria, in which he claimed the right of calling foreign troops into the country.

The contest now involved many parties, who all became equally violent and tenacious; and a long series of fruitless conferences, diets, appeals, and arbitrations, continued for some years to agitate the people's minds, and to impel them to a degree of acrimony, which, since religion had been introduced as one of the principal incentives, it was manifest would never be allayed without compulsive, and no doubt sanguinary means. Even the admission of the Gregorian calendar, which the catholics of Tockenburg had adopted, but

[29] Leodigar Burgisser of Lucern, who succeeded to the abbey anno 1696.

CHAP. VII.

the protestants rejected with abhorrence, became a cause of additional enmity and rancour. England,[30] Holland, Prussia, Hanover, and Hessia, tendered their friendly offices towards allaying the storm; and above all things, reprobated the armed interference of Austria in the affairs of the confederacy, as militating against the express stipulations of the peace of Westphalia: but their benevolent purposes were likewise defeated by the stubborn inveteracy of the parties. The abbot

1708. now ventured to stigmatize his opponents in the valley with the opprobrious appellation of rebels, and thus gave the signal for open hostilities.

Hostilities. 1709.

About Easter in the succeeding year, the magistrates of Zuric, who, more earnestly than the other Helvetic governments, espoused the cause of the protestants in this contiguous province, ordered some forces to approach the frontiers. The abbot, on the other hand, in defiance of the chartered privileges of the country, sent troops into the castles, and supplied them with ammunition and provisions. These troops he had, on an urgent remonstrance, agreed to withdraw; but delaying the execution of his promise, the people, early in the next

1710. year, collected in numbers, and entered some of the castles with an armed force. At Schwarzenbach and Lutispurg they met with no opposition; but at Yberg they had to encounter the resistance of an Amazon, the wife of the bailiff, who drew out the garrison, and made a stand, in which three of the assailants were dangerously wounded. The attack however succeeded; and the heroine, with her husband, who in his trepidation had not half-dressed himself, and the garrison, was led beyond the

[30] Stanyan was at this time British minister in Swisserland.

frontiers, and dismissed. The insurgents took likewise possession of two convents, and secured the passes: but anarchy and confusion in the mean time prevailed throughout the valleys; one community took up arms against the other; in some the people were at variance with their magistrates; but most of them renounced their allegiance to the abbot. The protestant cantons meanwhile declared, that unless the prelate renounced his alliance with Austria, their deputies should no longer sit at a diet with his representatives.

Berne and Zuric, who were by many previous compacts, and now by the express requisition of the protestants of Tockenburg, called upon to interpose in this contest, seeing that an appeal to the sword would be inevitable, made serious preparations for war. Lucern, Zug, Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden, on the other hand, who had an equal right to interfere, declared their intention to support the catholics, and likewise summoned their military force. John Ulric Nabholz, a citizen of Zuric, who had been repeatedly employed by his government in the fruitless negotiations that had preceded this open rupture, appeared now at the head of some forces, and being aided by Poesh and Rudlinger, two of the protestant demagogues in the valleys, took possession of the monasteries of St. John and Magdenau, which, by their situation, commanded a great part of the country: they likewise secured many other passes and strong-holds, broke down the bridges that might facilitate a surprise, and in a short time became masters of the whole valley. Many friends of the abbot having withdrawn themselves, their families (so far from being insulted by the new possessors) were immediately sent after them unmolested; and the catholics themselves, who staid behind, have freely

CHAP. VII.

acknowledged, that not a church or an image had been violated, not a religious votary insulted, and that in no instance was the service of the Romish church impeded by the troops of Zuric. Their testimony concerning the Tockenburghers was by no means so favourable.

The catholic cantons, on the other hand, sent forces to occupy the towns of Baden, Bremgarten, and the whole of the free bailiwicks, chiefly with a view to prevent the junction of the troops of Berne and Zuric; and thus were the horrors of civil war at once spread throughout the country. The abbot also gathered all the forces he could command in his peculiar territory,[31] and his dependencies in the Thurgau and Rheinthal, which, amounting to some thousands, entered the town of Wyl; while all the valuable effects of the abbey were conveyed across the lake of Constance to Lindau, to which place the prelate himself, and his monks, soon after fled for refuge. On the sixteenth of May the troops of Berne and Zuric advanced before Wyl, and raised batteries against its walls; but the garrison made so feeble a resistance, that after a short cannonade and bombardment, the place was on the twenty-second found wholly evacuated. The besiegers having stationed one thousand men in the conquered town, advanced towards St. Gallen, reduced the abbey and its territory, and penetrated as far as Roshach on the lake of Constance, where they likewise established a garrison.

Having achieved this enterprise, the two cantons next directed their arms against the invaders of Baden and the free bailiwicks. Bremgarten surrendered after a severe conflict, maintained by the troops of Zuric; and here a body of Berners

[31] Usually called the Old District.

having joined these troops, the leaders resolved upon and planned the attack of Baden. On the twenty-ninth of May the Zurichers entered the village of Wettingen, and were, though without effect, cannonaded from the castle of Baden: on the next day, four thousand men, with forty pieces of cannon and four mortars, invested the town; and two days after the garrison made a vigorous sally, which however was repulsed without much loss on either side. The besiegers after this kept up so brisk a fire, that many houses, towers, and churches, were damaged, and a wide breach was opened in the walls of the castle. The Berners, who had advanced through Mellingen and Windish, arrived now at the opposite side of the town, six thousand in number, with twenty cannon, and several mortars and howitzers. The garrison on their approach immediately ceased firing, and offered terms of capitulation: but the besiegers having received fresh supplies of artillery and ammunition, and among other articles, the necessary implements for firing red hot balls, demanded a surrender at discretion. This was soon agreed to; and the forces of the five catholic cantons, commanded by Crivelli of Uri, were suffered to withdraw, whilst all the burghers and people of the district were disarmed.

Negotiations.

The emperor meanwhile held a diet at Ratisbonne, where he formally arraigned the proceedings of the two protestant cantons respecting the abbey, which he represented as a feudal dependence of the empire; and obtained a decree,[32] censuring their conduct, and authorizing the emperor to take effectual measures towards reinstating the abbot in his dominions. The cantons answered with firmness, appealing to the peace

[32] Dated June 30, 1712.

CHAP. VII.

of Westphalia for the absolute independence of every member of the confederacy, and stating the compacts which had authorized them to interfere in the quarrel between the abbot and his subjects. A long series of answers, rejoinders, projects, and counterprojects, were upon this reciprocally exchanged. Several powers offered their mediation; but all to no effect. Considerable bodies of Imperial and French troops approached the frontiers: the pope and several cardinals supplied money to the catholic Confederates, for whose success public prayers were offered up at Rome; while England, Holland, Prussia, Hessia, and other German princes, openly avowed their disapprobation of the interference of the empire in the domestic concerns of the confederacy.

During several weeks of tedious negotiation, the greatest difficulties arose from the five catholic cantons, who obstinately refused to relinquish their share in the sovereignty of Baden and the free bailiwicks, of which the two protestant cantons now insisted upon retaining the sole property. Two of the former however, Lucern and Uri, were at length brought to acquiesce in this important sacrifice; and, upon terms that were reprobated by their three associate cantons, they, on the eighteenth of July, signed a separate pacification.

Fresh Troubles.

This pacification lasted one day. The people of the three hostile cantons met in great numbers, and in a tumultuary manner demanded to be led against the heretics; and the contagion spreading around them, the alarm bells rung throughout Lucern and Uri on the nineteenth, and the burghers and peasants, at the instigation, as has been positively asserted by the Spanish envoy, of the pope's nuncio and

the clergy, resumed their arms, and once more took the field. On the twentieth, a body of between five and six thousand men of the five cantons, under the command of Ackerman, a magistrate of Underwalden, crossed the Reuss at Gyslikon, and advanced with speed along that river, with a view to surprise a detachment of twelve hundred Berners, who were posted at Sins. The priest of this place, having agreed to betray the heretics, entertained their officers at a meal, and persuaded them that there was not the least cause for apprehension. In this state of security, they learnt suddenly that the enemy had entered the village, and actually surrounded them. Unable to form any plan of defence, some forced their way through the midst of the enemy, while the greatest number took shelter in the church, and behind the walls of the burying-ground. Being soon after driven into the belfry, the catholics collected great heaps of wet straw at the foot of the steeple, and setting it on fire, occasioned a smoke, which suffocated many of the Berners, induced others to throw themselves headlong into the road, and compelled the remainder to surrender at discretion. The rest of the protestant army (those of Zuric having incurred much blame for not having advanced to the relief of the party at Sins) retired before the triumphant foe, and took post near Villemergen.

On the twenty-second, a body of Schwitzers attacked the intrenchments thrown up by the Zurichers near the lake of Hutten, and along the Sil; but were repulsed with considerable loss. On many of those who had been slain on this occasion, were found consecrated scrolls, with numbers upon them, denoting how many of the heretics the bearers would infallibly destroy. The catholic army on the Reuss meanwhile advanced

CHAP. VII.

towards Villemergen, where the joint forces of Berne and Zuric occupied a post of considerable strength. Here, on the twenty-fifth, an obstinate and bloody battle took place, which, after seven hours of various and alternate successes, terminated at length in favour of the protestants. Their army did not exceed eight thousand in number. Most of their principal leaders having been wounded and led from the field, the treasurer Frishing, a veteran seventy-four years of age, took the command, exclaiming, 'Courage, my friends! I am your 'father: forsake me not, and be assured that I shall not 'abandon you: let us live and die together.' The catholic army, upwards of twelve thousand in number, lost two thousand men, three superior officers, five capuchin friars, and several colours, cannon, and ammunition waggons. Two hundred men were taken prisoners at Villemergen, and three hundred at Muri. The Lucerners were so exasperated, that whenever, during the action, a cannon missed its aim, they immediately murdered the cannonier. The Berners penetrated now, without opposition, into the cantons of Lucern and Underwalden: they spoiled the lands, and seized the cattle; and saw manifest symptoms that the dismayed inhabitants were earnestly solicitous for a speedy reconciliation.

Battle of Villemergen.

The Tockenburghers had no sooner tasted the sweets of emancipation from the oppressive sway of their arbitrary despot, than they extended their views beyond what they had ever aspired to, and aimed at absolute independence. They listened to the insinuations of their demagogues, particularly of Rudlinger, who had now become the rival and calumniator of Nabholz, and endeavoured to supplant this experienced leader, who had long enjoyed the esteem and confidence of his supe-

Attempts of the Tockenburghers.

riors. They, of their own authority, planned an expedition to Uznach, and into the Gaster; and without consulting their deliverers, named Kuenz, a soldier of fortune, to the command. Zuric however had about the same time resolved to carry their arms, jointly with those of Tockenburg, to Rapperswyl and the abovenamed districts, and had appointed Nabholz to execute the project: but this commander met with such opposition and chicane from the Tockenburghers, that he suffered Kuenz to lead their troops, still following the march, in order, if possible, to contribute by his advice to the success of the expedition. They were too tardy in their progress, the town of Uznach having surrendered to a detachment from Zuric before their approach. They were allowed however to occupy the Gaster, while the Zurichers returned to join their countrymen before Rapperswyl. The burghers of this town, who had for some time been dissatisfied with their rulers, sent away the garrison Uri had given them, and surrendered, on condition of retaining the free exercise of their religion, their convents, their property, their former compacts, and other valuable privileges.

Pacification of Arau,

The five catholic cantons being now satiated with disasters, agreed to a general diet at Arau, where, after much debate, they resolved on the third, ninth, and lastly the eleventh of August, to accede to the late treaty of the eighteenth of July, and yield up their co-sovereignty to the joint bailiwicks: and moreover declared, that they would not only withhold all further aid from the Abbot of St. Gallen, but also use their best endeavours to incline him to pacific sentiments.

The troops of the two protestant cantons, meanwhile, occupied the territories of the abbot; but these cantons, in order to

CHAP. VII.

prove their readiness to come to a final accommodation with the prelate, and to remove all cause of suspicion, ordered them to be evacuated, leaving only a few civil officers for the administration of the revenue, and the immediate concerns of government. The abbot however declined repeated offers that were made him, alleging that as a vassal of the empire, he could not enter into a negotiation without the concurrence of his supreme lord. The cantons, on the other hand, positively rejected every interference of foreign powers. The Tockenburghers at the same time, who had now fallen a prey to faction and all manner of insubordination, threw additional obstacles in the way of a pacification, by the extravagance of their demands; and to adjust all differences, and satify all pretensions, seemed next to an impossibility.

1714. Notwithstanding all these obstacles, a congress was held at Roshach, where terms were drawn up, which appeared admissible to all the parties except the abbot, who still persisted in

1716. his appeal to the empire. Another congress was held at Baden, where, after a profusion of debate, nothing was effected: and things continued, in the fifth year after the peace of Arau, in this unsettled state, when Berne, weary alike of the long protracted discord and desultory warfare, and of the irksome prolixity of fruitless negotiation, resolved, without the concurrence of Zuric, where the minds of the people were not so peaceably inclined, to come to a final accommodation. The abbot also seeing himself feebly supported by the emperor, and loth to encounter any longer the distresses of a tedious exile, lent a willing ear to the offers that were once more made him: and matters were drawing to a conclusion, when the prelate,

1717. after a long life of trouble and disappointed ambition, ended

his days at Ravensburg, regretted by few, except those who looked to him for emolument.

He was succeeded by Joseph Rudolphi, a native of Carinthia, who, fortunately for the reduced state of the abbey, was of a pacific disposition. A congress which had been convened at Baden, proceeded in its deliberations; and at length, notwithstanding some opposition on the part of Zuric, and the loud remonstrances of the Tockenburghers, the treaty of peace between the abbot, Berne, and Zuric, was finally concluded, and on the fifteenth of June, publicly ratified by all the parties concerned. The articles, no less than eighty-three in number, related chiefly to the administration of the county of Tockenburg, which, on this occasion, was confirmed in the enjoyment of many valuable privileges. Thus ended a war, commenced upon slight pretences; but the termination of which was the last gradual step towards the final settlement of the Helvetic constitution, of which an outline will be attempted in the ensuing Chapter.[33]

and Baden.

1718.

[33] The treaty of Arau is given at length in Lamberty's Memoires, t. vii. p. 640. Prof. Meister must have felt much gratification in relating, in the form of a diary, the most minute events of this contest, in which his countrymen of Zuric acted a conspicuous part, since he has bestowed upon it no less than three hundred and fifty pages of his second volume. Zurlauben, in his Hist. Militaire de la Suisse, vol. vii. has described the principal events of this war in the manner most favourable to the catholics.

CHAP. VIII.

Statistical View of the Helvetic Confederacy.

CHAP. VIII.

IT has already been hinted,[1] but it is an observation so pregnant with salutary inferences, that it may well bear a repetition under a different aspect, that few, if any, of the forms of government which have had any permanency, and which could boast of the advantages of civil liberty, have ever sprung from a set of theoretical rules or maxims, digested methodically by a single, or perhaps by a numerous body of dogmatical legislators; but that they have in general arisen from a long series of experiments and practical observations, and acquired their consistency from the occasional remedies applied to exigencies, as they occurred in the course of progressive events. Thus have none of the polities framed by Solon, Lycurgus,[2] the adventurous Cromwell, and the no less presumptuous regicides of our days, had any duration, or scarcely survived their original founders; nor have the admired systems of Plato, More, Harrington, and many other speculative theorists, who have laboured in this field of investigation (and some of them confessedly with much sagacity and wisdom) been ever reduced into useful practice. When, on the other hand, we contemplate the Roman republic, and the British empire, and the gradual perfection each acquired through a series of years, according

[2] See vol. i. p. 201. [1] The Spartan polity may be deemed an exception; but after all, even this did not last much above a century after the death of its author.

as experience pointed out the remedies to be applied to defects, against which abstract wisdom could not originally provide, we shall be equally struck with the contrast, and be compelled to acknowledge that a good political constitution, necessarily comprising a multitude of remote and intricate combinations, is not the work of a day, or of one man, or set of men.

The Helvetic confederacy is another instance of this progressive, and at the same time, unpremeditated tendency towards perfection. The Swiss cannot boast of any legislator. Resolutely bent on preserving the independence for which they had incessantly struggled from the very beginning of their existence, justice was the corner stone on which they erected their political fabric. Without any refined maxims, or complicated set of rules, they followed the bent of their honest hearts; and by the gradual improvements of more than three centuries, at length completed a constitution, which, while it afforded much matter of censure to acute theorists, was productive of the happiest consequences, in securing the lives and properties of individuals, and the honour and prosperity of the nation at large. 'This confederacy,' says an intelligent and well informed writer, 'may well be compared to those huge monuments, which have been raised in 'barbarous ages, by the mere efforts of strength, and without 'any rules of accurate proportion: they strike the eye, by the 'boldness of the enterprise, and their sublime rusticity; but 'their solidity and magnificence are rather the effect of an 'artless accumulation of masses, than of an exact symmetry, 'or adaptation of parts. Thus the union of the Helvetic states

CHAP. VIII.

'depends far more upon the rude combination of the internal 'parts, and the nature and fortunate situation of their country, 'than upon nice estimates of their proportionate equilibrium, 'or an elaborate system of political theorems; and to this 'probably will it be indebted for its permanency.'[3]

The period at which this constitution may be said to have attained its highest degree of perfection was, no doubt, when, at the late peace of Arau, all ambiguous claims were finally adjusted, all just causes of complaint were removed, and a general oblivion of all past differences was solemnly decreed; insomuch that this treaty has not improperly been denominated the *pragmatic sanction* of Helvetia. This period therefore, which presents the confederacy in the state in which it approached nearest to its maturity, may justly be considered as the most proper for a general survey of its constituent parts, and an investigation of the principles on which the aggregate was connected, and produced its salutary effects. We shall accordingly attempt a delineation of the outlines of this constitution, which displays a greater variety of complicated, and yet free and effective governments, than has perhaps been ever exhibited within so small a compass.

Its state having been nearly permanent from this period to the fatal day immediately preceding the last revolution, it may not be improper to adopt the most modern statements, which, being more authentic and circumstantial than the preceding accounts, will, we trust, prove more satisfactory to the reader, whose object is accurate information.

[3] Dict. de la Suisse, t. i. p. 79.

We hope to conciliate both brevity and perspicuity by collecting all the facts which can be reduced under general heads, into the following summary tables.[4]

I. THE CANTONS.

	Square Miles.	Population.	Contingent of Troops.	Form of Government.	Religion.	Language.
I. Zuric - -	676	175,000	1,400	Aristo-democratic	Protestant	German
II. Berne - -	3,840	374,000	2,000	Aristocratic	Protestant	German and French
III. Lucern -	544	100,000	1,200	Aristocratic	Catholic	German
IV. Uri - - -	550	26,000	400	Democratic	Catholic	German and Italian
V. Schwitz -	326	23,000	600	Democratic	Catholic	German
VI. Underwalden	179	23,500	400	Democratic	Catholic	German
VII. Zug - -	102	20,000	400	Democratic	Catholic	German
VIII. Glaris - -	336	16,000	400	Democratic	Mixed	German
IX. Basle - -	160	40,000	400	Aristo-democratic	Protestant	German
X. Friburg -	467	73,000	800	Aristocratic	Catholic	German and French
XI. Soleure - -	288	45,000	600	Aristocratic	Catholic	German
XII. Shaffhausen	128	30,000	400	Aristo-democratic	Protestant	German
XIII. Appenzel -	256	51,000	600	Democratic	Mixed	German
Totals.	7,852	996,500	9,600			

[4] The greatest part of the materials for compiling these tables has been collected from Durand's Statistique élémentaire de la Suisse. The measures of extent, which in foreign authors are generally given in German miles, fifteen to a degree, are here reduced to geographical miles, sixty to a degree. The arms of the cantons will be found on the medal on the title page of this volume, under the numbers assigned to them in the above table: those of the principal associates and allies are on the inner circle, under the following numbers: 1. The Grison leagues. 2. The Valais. 3. Neuchattel. 4. Geneva. 5. St. Gallen. 6. Bienne.

II. THE SUBJECT BAILIWICKS,

ALL UNDER A MONARCHICAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

	Square Miles.	Population.	Contingent of Troops.	Sovereigns.	Religion.	Language.
1. Thurgau	266	60,000	600	VIII. Old Cantons	Mixed	German
2. Rheinthal	84	13,000	200	Ditto and Appenzel	Mixed	German
3. Sargans	148	12,000	300	VIII. Old Cantons	Mixed	German
4. Gaster 5. Uznach 6. Gambs	149	9,000	—	Schwitz and Glaris	Catholic	German
7. Rapperswyl	8	5,000	—	Zuric and Berne	Catholic	German
8. Baden	138	24,000	200	Zuric, Berne, and Glaris	Mixed	German
9. The upper free Bailiwicks	85	20,000	300	VIII. Old Cantons	Catholic	German
10. The lower free Bailiwicks				Zuric, Berne, and Glaris	Catholic	German
11. Bremgarten 12. Mellingen	—	5,000	—	Zuric, Berne, and Glaris	Catholic	German
13. Schwartzenberg	150	40,000	—	Berne and Friburg	Catholic	German
14. Morat					Protestant	Germ. & Fr.
15. Granson					Protestant	Germ. & Fr.
16. Orbe and Echallens					Mixed	French
17. Bellinzona 18. Riviera, or Polese 19. Val di Blenzo	110	33,000	—	Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden	Catholic	Italian
20. Lugano	205	53,000	400	All the Cantons except Appenzel	Catholic	Italian
21. Locarno	263	30,000	200			
22. Val Maggia	158	24,000	100			
23. Mendrisio	67	16,000	100			
Totals.	1831	344,000	2400			

III. CONFEDERATED STATES.

		Square Miles.	Population.	Contingent of Troops.	Form of Government.	Religion.	Language.
I. Associates.	1. The Abbey of St. Gallen - -						
	a. Alte Landshafft	124	45,000	1,000	Monarchical	Catholic	German
	b. Tockenburg	188	46,000		Limited Monarchy	Mixed	German
	2. The City of St. Gallen - -	—	8,300	200	Aristo-democratic	Protestant	German
	3. The town and territory of Bienne - -	144	5,500	200	Mono-aristocratic	Protestant	German
	4. Mulhausen[5] -	—	8,000	—	Democratic	Protestant	German
II. Allies.	1. The Grison leagues - -	2,304	150,000	—	Democratic	Mixed	German and Romansh
	Their subject provinces -	960	100,000	—	Monarchical	Catholic	Italian
	2. The Valais - -	1,280	100,000	—	6 diz. democr. 1 diz. aristocr.	Catholic	French and German
	3. Neuchattel and Valengin - -	240	40,500	—	Mono-aristocratic	Protestant	French and German
	4. Geneva - - -	88	34,000	—	Aristo-democratic	Protestant	French
	5. Part of the Bishoprick of Basle allied to the Cantons	106	24,000	—	Mono-aristocratic	Protestant	French
III. Sovereignties under the protection of the Forest Cantons.	1. The Abbey of Engelberg -	28	4,500	—	Monarchical	Catholic	German
	2. Gersau - - - -	—	1,000	—	Democratic	Catholic	German
	Totals.	5,462	566,800	1,400			
Totals in the whole Confederacy.		15,145	1,907,300	13,400			

[5] This town was but partially admitted to the general diets. See. vol. ii. p. 171.

CHAP. VIII.

In surveying the various constitutions which prevailed in the several independent states that composed the Helvetic body, it will materially tend to facilitate a comprehensive view of the whole, to wave the order of precedency which had been established among them, and to class them according to their general forms; whereby after having delineated the principal features of those which predominated in each class, we shall be able to convey an adequate idea of those of a subordinate rank, by merely pointing out the less essential deviations. Beginning therefore with the aristocratic cantons, we shall first contemplate the government of Berne, which, if its constitution be once duly comprehended, may serve as a standard of comparison for those of Lucern, Friburg, and Soleure, all which partake in the main of the same fundamental elements.

1. Aristocratic Cantons. Berne.

The aristocracy of Berne so far from having arrived at the supremacy it exerted in its most flourishing period, by encroachments on the liberties of the people, has in fact, as will appear by a short retrospect of the history of this once prosperous state, rather at times relaxed from the prerogatives with which it had been originally invested, than ever sought to enforce or extend them by arbitrary proceedings.[6] When Cuno de Bubenberg, under the authority of the Duke of Zæringen, and the sanction of the empire, founded the city of Berne, the object of the undertaking was avowedly, to afford to the inferior nobility a refuge from the lawless power of the counts and superior vassals, which, in those times of

[6] Among other instances may be mentioned, the limitation of the power of the bannerets which had become vexatious, the excluding near relations from the senate, the election of bailiffs by lot and not by votes, &c.

anarchy and confusion, shook even the throne itself. This secondary nobility therefore formed the first body politic.[7] The neighbouring peasantry who, in no small numbers, availed themselves of the security afforded by the wise and vigorous administration, that soon prevailed in this infant but rising state, not only willingly, but even gladly submitted to the sway of a set of men, of liberal condition, who themselves incessantly struggled against the inroads of despotic power, and who could only maintain themselves by strict integrity and undaunted firmness. This peasantry, and many artificers and traders, who were allured by the same prospect of safety, and by the lucre which always attends a numerous population, became, jointly with the nobles, the order of citizens or burghers. This order indeed was never collec-

[7] Prof. Meiners, in his Letters on Swisserland (vol. I. p. 233) is at considerable pains to prove that Berne had originally a democratic form of government; and grounds his assertion on various ancient muniments, among which he lays great stress on the charter granted to the city by the Emperor Frederic II. in the year 1218, in which *the citizens, burghers, and commonality,* occur as members of the legislature. In this however he is contradicted by the most accurate historians.. Admitting that at the time, and soon after the foundation, the nobles were in fact, as is above stated, the body politic, this difference of opinion will at once be reconciled; and the government, the succession in the offices being elective and not hereditary, may not improperly obtain the name the Prof. is willing to assign to it, of a democratic aristocracy. This is the more probable, as we know of no time when the people surrendered, or were bereaved of any privilege by the nobles: nor is it at all likely that a nobility, comparatively weak in numbers, and without forces, should impose a galling yoke on a numerous people, possessed of arms, and of a free spirit. Many instances moreover have occurred very recently in which, to the title of avoyer, great and little council, was added that of *burghers*; and yet it is well known that the burghers, as such, had no share whatever in the government. They may at times, though not *de jure*, have been consulted; but a single, or a few instances of this nature, do not surely constitute a right or practice.

CHAP. VIII.

tively called upon to perform acts of sovereignty, or even to sanction the proceedings of those who steered the helm; but yet the nobles, so far from endeavouring to retain the supreme authority exclusively in their hands, soon consented, without any compulsive inducement, that the lowest of the burghers should be eligible to the highest offices in the state; and moreover that they might combine into tribes or guilds, to which they conceded many valuable privileges, together with sufficient powers to assert them. Twelve of these tribes, which were usually called abbeys, were formed; four of which, those of the bakers, the smiths, the butchers, and tanners, had the pre-eminent right of displaying each a banner; whence the bannerets, four of the highest officers in the state, could only be chosen out of these privileged bodies. These four abbeys appear likewise to have formed the territorial division of the city; and it seems probable that the eight other tribes had no local designation, but were promiscuously dispersed throughout these four wards. The whole number of families, which of late constituted the burghership, did not exceed two hundred and fifty, and among these only seventy were the truly patrician, out of which the magistrates were usually chosen. Thus secured in the means of maintaining what they deemed an ample share of civil liberty, the citizens followed with alacrity their respective avocations, and saw without the least murmur the supreme authority centered in a council, whose numerous members operated as a check upon each other, and who, though instituted for life, were yet liable to be removed upon any well attested delinquency. This council, with its various branches and dependencies, it will now be our business to consider, both as to

the manner in which it was constituted, and the powers with with which it was invested.

Supreme council.

This supreme legislative, as well as executive and judicial body, consisted, as its title denoted, of *the avoyer, the little and the great council.*[8] The latter of these councils, which in fact comprised the two other branches of the legislature, being properly the depositary of the supreme authority, was also named *the sovereign council,* and (though of late its number has always been greater) *the council of two hundred.*[9] Its full complement was, after various changes, fixed at two hundred and ninety-nine; which number however it seldom retained for any length of time, it having been of late a constant practice, in order to obviate the cabals which ever attend a competition to few vacancies, and perhaps, as Stanyan intimates, to reduce the number of candidates to the bailiwicks, who were always members of the council, not to proceed to an election until the vacancies amounted to at least eighty, which, according to the usual rate of mortality, happened in general every ten or eleven years.[10]. This council, of which the avoyers, the senators, and all the officers of state,[11] were members, was authorized to make and repeal laws, to declare war, conclude peace, and form alliances, to judge in all capital cases within the district of the city, to determine all civil causes that came before it by appeal, and to delegate powers

[8] We propose, in order the better to discriminate the two councils, to appropriate to the former the name of *senate,* which indeed it frequently obtained in the statistical writings of this country.

[9] Towards the end of the 13th century it actually consisted of 200 members.

[10] The elections of late have been in the years 1755, 1764, 1775, 1785, 1795.

[11] The treasurers, bannerets, seizeniers, secret senators, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

to inferior magistrates, courts, and civil departments. It ultimately regulated all that concerned the revenue; superintended whatever related to the public edifices, when the value exceeded the sum of one hundred crowns; and finally determined all matters that were referred to its decision by the senate. It usually met twice a week, but on urgent occasions more frequently.

The Senate.

The senate, which, as it met every day, Sundays and festivals excepted, was likewise called the *daily council*, consisted of the two avoyers, the two treasurers, the four bannerets, seventeen ordinary and two secret senators. These seven and twenty members discussed and prepared all matters that were to be laid before the great council, dispatched all current affairs that related to the police, and conferred all church preferments, and many civil offices: they ordered gratuities within the limits of one hundred crowns; and ultimately decided all criminal causes, except those which were reserved for the great council, or some privileged municipality or vassal. But the greatest consequence they possessed, was derived from the great share they had in filling up the vacancies in the great council; and the power vested in them of convoking this council, whenever an incident occurred, which appeared to them to call for so vigorous a measure. Whenever the great council sat, this senate became incorporated in it, and retained no peculiar authority of its own. At other times it was not improperly considered as the executive power of the state.

Officers of State.

The two avoyers[12] were the highest officers in the state.

[12] This name, which ought properly to be written *avoyé*, or *advoyé*, is derived from Advocatus. The German title, *Shuldheiss* (scultetus) is of Lombardic origin.

They were elected by public votes, in the sovereign council, for life; but were liable to be removed by the same body. One of them only supported the dignity, and exercised the functions, of head of the republic; and they alternately exchanged their stations every year, on Easter-Monday. The avoyer in office presided both in the council and senate, in each of which he had no regular, but only a casting vote: the great seal of the republic was in his custody; and a provincial jurisdiction[13] was annexed to his station. In his absence the ex-avoyer supplied his place; and when he also was prevented from attending, he was authorized to appoint a substitute, who however could not be either a treasurer or a banneret. During the harvest and vintage, which were considered as vacations, one of the bannerets presided in the less frequent meetings that were held both of the senate and council, and had the custody of the great seal.

The German (by far the largest) and the French[14] districts had each a treasurer. The former ranked immediately after the two avoyers: he held his office for the term of six years, after which he could aspire to no employment but that of avoyer: he directed whatever concerned the revenues of the eight-and-thirty bailiwicks in the German district; and superintended the large capital which the canton possessed in the English funds: he laid his accounts twice a year before the great council: he presided in the German chamber of bannerets; and at every demise of an avoyer he was proposed as a candidate for the succession. The treasurer of the French district, whose office was likewise sexennial, had the same duties

[13] Nether-Mullèren.

[14] The Pays de Vaud; or, as it was frequently called, the *Pays Roman*.

CHAP. VIII.

and authority respecting the twelve bailiwicks in the Pays de Vaud: he presided in the chamber of bannerets to whom were referred the affairs of that district; and ranked among these officers according to the dates of their respective elections.

The four bannerets derived their name from the original function assigned to them, that of bearing the ensigns of the city; or rather of the four privileged companies, out of which, being counsellors, they were occasionally chosen. This office implied also the superintendance of all military matters within their respective wards: they, jointly with the treasurers, formed the boards of finance, which obtained the name of the German and French Chambers of the Bannerets. Each had the administration of one of the peculiar, or as they were called, interior bailiwicks of the city.[15] They ranked before all the senators.

The seizeniers, who derived their appellation from their number, were sixteen counsellors, generally such as had served the office of bailiff, who were elected out of the twelve tribes, two out of the privileged, and one out of the eight others. These, jointly with the senate, annually confirmed the council; and their functions chiefly related to this confirmation, and to the occasional election of new magistrates. A right they had to censure, gave them an influence not unlike the tribunitian power at Rome.

The secret senators were in a manner supernumeraries, but according to their seniority they succeeded of course to the rank of ordinary senator. When any of the six families,

[15] 1. Seftingen was appropriated to the banneret of the *Baker*'s company: 2. Sternenberg to the *Smith*'s; 3. Zollikofen to the *Tanner*'s; and 4. Conolfingen to the *Butcher*'s. These jurisdictions were not under the control of the treasurers.

which were pre-eminently called noble, or patrician,[16] were elected into this office, they immediately took precedency before the ordinary senators. The great council communicated with the senate by means of these officers, particularly in cases when delinquencies were to be denounced: they were also authorized to put a stop to every deliberation in the senate, whenever it appeared to them that it might affect the constitution of the republic.

Elections.

The anxious circumspection, or rather jealousy, that prevailed in this government, appeared in nothing more than in the election to the seats in the councils, and the higher offices of magistracy. While on the one hand, they saw the necessity of guarding against the intrigues that generally attend elections by open ballot, they were well aware of the impropriety of leaving the choice entirely to the decision of chance, which they knew might often exclude those men whose integrity and superiority of talents could most effectually serve the state. They hence blended together the two modes in a manner that will doubtless appear singularly complicated, in hopes thereby to obviate the inconveniencies of both. The nomination into the great council being vested in the senate, jointly with the seizeniers, particular caution was used in the choice of these electors, especially that of the senators; who, being moreover called upon to discuss and prepare all matters that were to be laid before the council, had manifestly an uncommon influence in the state.

into the Senate.

The proceedings, on a vacancy in the senate, were as follows. On the day, or morrow, of the interment of a deceased

[16] Erlach, Diesbach, Watteville, Mulinen, Bonstetten, and Luternau.

CHAP. VIII.

senator,[17] the senate and council met, and as many balls as there were members present being put into two covered boxes, the senators drew them out of one, and the counsellors out of the other: among the former were three gilt balls, and among the latter seven, the remainder being silvered over; and those who drew the ten golden balls were electors for the nomination of candidates. These three senators and seven counsellors now withdrew behind a curtain, where they found printed lists of all the members of the council, who were eligible into the senate:[18] from one of these, each of them tore the name of the counsellor whom he meant to favour, and cancelled or secreted the remainder of the list. These names were next collected; and if they happened to be fewer than six, a fresh choice of ten electors was made, who proceeded in the same manner, until the number of ten candidates was completed. These candidates, with their nearest of kin, immediately withdrew; their names were affixed each to a box; and a second choice, by lot, was made of electors, the number of golden balls being, in this instance, two thirds of the members present. Each of those who drew a golden ball, dropped it into the box of the candidate to whom he gave his suffrage; and on examining this ballot, the six who had the fewest votes, and were hence excluded, were, together with their relations, called back into the assembly. Four balls, two silver and two golden ones, were next put into a box; and the four remaining candidates,

[17] The election was properly into the office of secret senator, the senior of the two in office succeeding of course to the dignity of ordinary senator.

[18] Among other qualifications it was required, that they should have been at least ten years in the council; that they be above forty years of age; married men, or widowers; and that they have no father, brother, or son, already in the senate.

they having previously determined the precedency by lot, drew them: the two who drew golden balls were lastly put to the ballot of the wholly assembly; and he who now obtained the majority of votes, was declared duly elected.

The reason of this repeated alternation by lot and ballot, cannot but be obvious to those who will bestow some thought upon the subject. Its greatest excellence perhaps consisted in making the chance of lots apply chiefly to the electors, and not to those who might pretend to the succession; by which means the dangerous effects of cabal were in a great measure obviated; and yet a fair prospect of success was given to the meritorious, while those wholly unqualified could entertain little hope of being preferred. The selected candidates drew lots only in one stage of the proceeding, and this when their number, being reduced to only four, an even chance was given to those few to whom eminent qualifications had secured the marked approbation of their fellow citizens; and when fortune proved unfavourable in one instance, repeated opportunities would occur, in which, unless she proved singularly unpropitious, the desired object would ultimately be obtained. This mode will admit of much meditation, and may perhaps afford some hints for imitation. It has here been explained somewhat at large, as no similar institution occurs in any republic, either ancient or modern.[19]

The seizeniers, who were entrusted with a considerable share in the election of counsellors, were chosen out of the twelve tribes or abbeys, by the members of those bodies who, being counsellors, had served the office of bailiff. Their

[19] Stanyan has taken no notice of this mode of election; and Coxe, who described it with sufficient accuracy, has not pointed out the true object of it.

CHAP. VIII.

functions being of a nature that required no uncommon talents, their nomination was left solely to the decision of chance. As many balls were put into a bag as there were qualified [20] persons present, two of which in the great abbeys, and one in the lesser, were gilt: these were drawn, and the golden balls determined the election. It appears from some authors, that the seizeniers were formerly appointed in this manner immediately before an election of counsellors, and that they remained in office till another was agreed upon; but of late, the practice has been to chuse them annually, at the eve of the formality of confirming the magistrates in their several offices.

into the Council.

Whenever the great council determined upon completing their number, the senate and the seizeniers were assembled for the purpose, and proceeded to the nomination. Here each of the avoyers had the right to propose two candidates, and every other member one. The chancellor, the greffier or secretary of state, the grand sautier or lieutenant of the police, and the usher or keeper of the town-house, claimed also the privilege of naming each a candidate; and it seldom happened that any of these nominees were rejected. The electors, it may well be imagined, in exercising this privilege, gave the preference to their sons, sons-in-law, brethren, or other near relations, which necessarily secured the seats in the council to a small number of families. Stanyan ridicules, with some humour, the amorous visits that were usually paid to the

[20] The qualifications were, being a counsellor, a married man, or a widower, and having neither father nor brother in the senate. The being an ex-bailiff was not absolutely requisite: and whenever only one counsellor was to be found in a tribe, he became seizenier without an election.

daughters of the newly created seizeniers, the instant they were raised to that station, previous to an election into the great council:[21] while others assert, in extenuation of the practice, that the senatorial families, by the education and early experience they afforded to their youths, were likely to fit them preferably to others for the complicated duties of a public station: they further allege that instances of exclusion have not been wanting when the candidates proposed were notoriously unqualified, or unworthy of so eminent a station. About fifty of the vacancies having been thus filled, the remainder was provided for by an open election. Each of the abbeys was required to send in the names of those burghers who, being duly qualified,[22] were moreover deemed worthy of the promotion. These names were drawn by lot, and successively proclaimed; and each elector signified his approbation of a candidate by rising from his seat when the name was mentioned. An accurate account was kept of those who had thus publicly voted for each burgher; and the whole being summed up, as many as were equal to the number of vacancies, having the majority of votes, were declared members of the great council. Although, in general, the counsellors were chosen out of not more than about seventy families, yet there seldom was an election in which some burghers of new families were not admitted to that dignity, and some of late were usually preferred out of families of the Pays de Vaud.

All the superior magistrates were liable to an annual

[21] A seat in the council was deemed equivalent to a marriage portion of fifteen hundred pounds sterling.

[22] The qualifications consisted in being inscribed in one of the abbeys, and not less than twenty-nine years of age.

CHAP. VIII.

scrutiny, during which, from Maundy-Thursday, when the seizeniers were chosen,[23] to Easter-Tuesday, their offices were in a manner suspended, and the supreme authority, during that short interval, devolved chiefly to the seizeniers. The senate and council, each in conjunction with the seizeniers, examined reciprocally into each other's conduct, and finding nothing reprehensible, confirmed each other, after having ostensibly rechosen the avoyers (who now exchanged their stations) the bannerets and treasurers.[24] The whole being now confirmed, the treasurer of the German district demanded of the great council, in the name of the senate, a new patent or letter of protection, which in fact was an avowal that the senate derived all its authority from the great council. The bailiffs, and all other subordinate officers, were also annually confirmed in the course of the Easter week.

Subordinate Boards.

Having thus delineated the great outline, or rather the leading principles of this government, we shall forbear entering into a minute detail of the many subordinate colleges, chambers, and committees, which were wisely contrived for promoting the purposes of administration. Suffice it to enumerate the principal of them, from which the reader may derive a general idea of the mechanical part of this, no doubt, highly elaborate constitution. Among these must be particularly noticed, the privy council of state, which discussed all matters that required profound secrecy: the two economical

[23] In the years when the vacancies in the council were to be filled up, this nomination took place on the Wednesday before Easter, and the grand election was held on the next Friday.

[24] This ceremony, for it was in general little more than a ceremony, was called the *grabeau*, a term nearly equivalent to the English *garble*.

chambers, or councils of finance (the German and the French) which examined and passed the accounts of all the bailiffs, and collected the revenues from all who were accountable to government: a court of judicature, which determined all civil causes in the first instance: and the great consistory, composed of two ecclesiastical and seven lay members, which received the reports of the thirteen rural synods, and directed all matters relating to the churches, decided all matrimonial causes, and particularly examined into the conduct of the clergy. The functions of the council of war, consisting chiefly of veteran officers; the office of police; the chamber of reform, which superintended the morals, and regulated all sumptuary matters; the chambers of appeal for the German and French districts; and the chambers, or committees, for directing whatever related to the supply of corn and wood, the farm of salt, the tolls, roads, health, commerce, and many others, are all sufficiently denoted by their appellations. The avoyer out of office, or a senator, usually presided at these boards, which consisted chiefly of counsellors, and at which the young men of senatorial families generally performed the office of secretary. All new matters that were to be determined in the great council, were here previously discussed, even before they were laid before the senate, where they underwent a second scrutiny; and it was also incumbent on these committees to cause the orders of the supreme legislature to be duly executed. This subdivision of departments was, no doubt, a cause of much delay in the administration of public affairs; but every question was by these means more thoroughly investigated; and this, in a republican state, which enter-

CHAP. VIII.

tained but few relations with foreign powers, more than compensated whatever disadvantages may have attended so dilatory a mode of proceeding.

The exterior State.

A singular, and at first sight no doubt a rather ludicrous establishment, of which no instance is to be met with in any other government, was the mimic legislature, which, under the name of the *exterior state*, was a perfect model of the real one, with all its officers, functions, ceremonies, and subordinate departments. It consisted of those burghers of distinguished families, who had not yet attained the age requisite for real promotion: it appointed to sixty-six bailiwicks, which took their names from ruined castles, dispersed throughout the country, among which Hapsburg was the principal: it had an exchequer, and, differing in this from its archetype, some debts. Great honours were paid to it in all public ceremonies, in which it greatly surpassed the sovereign council in stateliness and splendour. These distinctions it doubtless owed to the consideration of its being, in fact, a political seminary for the youths, who were likely one day to arrive at the highest offices in the state. Its avoyer seldom failed of promotion into the great council. Its badge, or coat of arms, an ape sitting on a lobster, and viewing itself in a mirror, was no bad emblem of its mock consequence.

They who reprobated the government of Berne on account of its progressive tendency towards an oligarchy, grounded their chief arguments on the absolute exclusion of the bulk of the people from all honourable and lucrative employments; and the additional reproach that, even among the privileged inhabitants of Berne, not one-third of the families were

allowed to sit in the councils, or to aspire to any of the higher offices of magistracy.[25] This, though in fact it produced no pernicious consequences, must certainly be admitted to have been a glaring inconsistency in a government that boasted of a peculiar degree of liberty: and it might perhaps, without much danger, have been remedied, in order to gratify the correct notions of refined theorists. It is by no means our object to scrutinize, much less to vindicate the practice; but a few observations on its origin will not surely be deemed foreign to the present purpose, especially as they will lead us to a contemplation of the manner in which the territorial possessions of the canton were administered, with a monarchical indeed, but at the same time confessedly, with a most lenient sway.

The Bailiwicks.

The republic of Berne consisted originally of only four parishes, to which were soon added the districts which, under the name of the four interior jurisdictions or bailiwicks, have till lately been administered by the four bannerets. The German division, including the collegiate of Berne, whose revenues, since the Reformation, were administered by a bailiff, and the government of Aigle, which, though its inhabitants use the French language, was yet annexed to this district, contained thirty-eight, and the French department twelve

[25] The population of Berne, according to Mr. Coxe, amounted, in 1776, to eleven thousand souls; whence, upon an average of six individuals to a family, there must have been upwards of one thousand eight hundred families in the city. According to Busching, there were, in the year 1764, only two hundred and seventy-four patrician families admissible into the council; and even among these, which were gradually diminishing, not above one hundred were of the number out of which the vacancies were usually supplied.

CHAP. VIII.

bailiwicks.[26] They had, for the most part, been originally secular jurisdictions; but twelve of the number had been monasteries, secularized at the Reformation, and their revenues were chiefly appropriated to the maintenance of the clergy, the schools, and to charitable uses. They were distributed into four classes, according to their revenues; the most profitable yielding from six to eight thousand, and the lowest less than two thousand crowns.[27] Those of the two first classes could be held only once; but those bailiffs, on whom chance bestowed the inferior lots, might, after an intermediate interval of six years, obtain a second, and even a third, of the

[26] The above enumeration is according to Busching. Durand, in his Statistique de la Suisse, vol. ii. distributes them as follows:

The four interior Jurisdictions	4
The district of Berne, including the collegiate	6
The district of Bienne	6
The Argau	10
The Emmenthal	7
The Oberland	8
The Pays de Vaud, including Aigle	13
Total	54

To these might be added the French bailiwicks, Granson, Orbe, Echallens, and Morat, which were called *Mediate*, and were held in common by Berne and Friburg, each of which cantons appointed alternately to two of them. Meiners has given us a total of fifty-nine bailiwicks; but he has probably added some diplomatic offices, which were considered as equivalent to bailiwicks. The residency in London, abolished within these twenty years for economical reasons, was one of the number. How Stanyan came to mention seventy-two bailiwicks, we cannot account for. The whole territory of the canton contained thirty-nine towns, and one thousand three hundred villages and hamlets. Of the successive territorial acquisitions, a circumstantial account is given by Durand, t. iii. p. 183—194.

[27] Of the imperial dollars, which appear to be the crowns here mentioned, about six go to a pound sterling.

lower orders. These offices were sexennial: being the most lucrative in the state, and formerly bestowed, by open suffrages, in the council, they were canvassed with much eagerness, and often obtained by very undue expedients, among which, sumptuous entertainments were not always ineffectual. After frequent partialities and unfairness in these elections had raised considerable clamour against the whole magistracy, which was never entirely effaced, the great council, at the beginning of the present century,[28] thought it adviseable to introduce the elections by lot. From that time many abuses, and among the rest the convivial intemperance which had been generally imputed to the Swiss, was observed sensibly to diminish: and even Stanyan, who has freely bestowed his censure upon the government of Berne, acknowledges that this new mode of appointment had been productive of very salutary effects. In the elections, the preference was given to the senior counsellors, so that those of a recent date could not enter in competition with those of a former promotion; and if only one counsellor of a particular year, offered as candidate, he succeeded without any formality or opposition.

If we reflect that the territories thus governed by these delegates had in fact been honourably acquired by their ancestors, either by conquest or purchase, we shall see less cause to censure those patricians for being tenacious of a property to which they had so fair a title: and it will be an additional extenuation of this unequal distribution of power, that none of those territories were, on falling into the hands of these families, deprived of a single franchise or prerogative held

[28] Anno 1718.

CHAP. VIII.

before this transfer; scarcely one of them being known, which had not retained some peculiar, and often very important privileges.[30] To this must be added that, according to the positive testimony of the most unprejudiced observers, these bailiffs, against whom so much clamour had been raised by the envious and ungovernable, so far from exercising in its full extent the powers delegated to them, were, for the most part, studious to soften the rigour of the laws: that they often mitigated the fines they had a right to impose, and frequently allotted the proportion that was their due to charitable uses: that whoever thought himself aggrieved by a decree, had an immediate remedy by an appeal to the chambers instituted for that purpose, and in the German district, ultimately to the sovereign council: and that the appellant was sure to obtain speedy redress, it being proverbial at Berne, that a peasant, unless he were known to be uncommonly litigious, seldom failed to succeed against his bailiff. In a word, it is well attested, that a zealous emulation prevailed among the ruling families, which of them should deserve the reputation of most lenity and moderation, in the administration of the provinces: 'and was it then so reprehensible,' says a candid and intelligent writer, who seems to have reflected maturely on the subject,[31] 'was it so flagrant a practice in the representatives 'of the illustrious patriots, who had, by their valour and 'industry, or by ample contributions out of their private

[30] Even the conquered towns of Bruck, Lenzburg, Arau, and Zoffingen, preserved their own magistracy, and ample privileges, from which they derived the name of the *free towns*. Lausanne retained its three councils, and both the higher and lower jurisdictions.

[31] Meiner's Letters, vol. i. p. 276.

'fortunes, rescued large districts, either from the oppressions 'of tyranny, or the ravages of the boisterous elements, to re- 'tain the property their ancestors had acquired by such honour- 'able means, and to preserve the right of providing for the 'happiness of a people,, than which none upon earth could 'boast of greater comforts, or was, in fact, more conscious 'of its prosperity?'

Defects.

So far from the rulers attempting to disguise, or palliate the defects which adhered to their government, we meet with an instance, so rare in history, of the people being called upon to point out whatever might appear to them capable of amendment. This instance occurred, when, in one of his splendid campaigns, Lewis the Fourteenth, having taken possession of Strasburg, threatened all the neighbouring countries with the impression of his arms; and when the council of Berne, dreading the approaching storm, and aware that their best security against foreign attack was the love and confidence of the people, demanded such animadversions, and actually received, and examined all that were transmitted to them. The grievances, as might be expected, were numerous, and among these it may be imagined, that the tendency towards oligarchy, by the progressive decrease of the senatorial families, was not considered as one of the most trivial. Many zealous, but discreet patriots, it must be owned, have admitted this to be an essential blemish, which the magistrates wanted either courage or virtue to remedy;[32] for though some families of the Pays de Vaud were occasionally received into the burghership of Berne, and, at every election into the great

(1681.)

[32] The celebrated Haller proposed a plan for removing this cause of complaint; but it was not carried into execution.

CHAP. VIII.

council, a few were generally admitted who had no family claim to the promotion, yet this remedy seemed by no means adequate to the evil: and men of much sagacity foretold that this deformity would in time destroy the equilibrium and mutual controul, on which, in their opinion, depended the permanency of the republic.

The large sums accumulated by most of the great families, which, under the name of *family chests*, were appropriated to the relief of those of their kindred, who, either from misconduct or reverses of fortune, had been reduced to want; the funds possessed for the same purpose by the tribes; and the ample revenues enjoyed by the burghers of many of the municipal towns, arising from the rents or produce of lands held by them in common, and from time to time shared among them, were likewise censured by many, as affording encouragement to a relaxation of morals as well as industry, and hence highly prejudicial to a state, the very essence of which consisted in energy and frugality. The former of these institutions however will be found less exceptionable, if we consider how essential it must have been, in a government like this, to prevent persons in needy circumstances from succeeding to the higher offices in the administration; and that moreover, in order to prevent an accumulation which, by impeding the circulation, might prove detrimental to the state, it had been enacted that none of these funds should ever exceed the sum of one hundred thousand French livres: and as to the municipal revenues, admitting them to be in some respects of a pernicious tendency, it was no doubt considered, that every encroachment or restraint upon property, would have been a much greater political injury, than occasional

misapplications, of which undoubtedly too many instances could be adduced. CHAP. VIII.

The increasing depravity of manners was perhaps the most serious of the evils complained of on this occasion: and indeed how could it be expected that the contagion of French, and especially Parisian immorality, to which the flower of the young patricians of Berne were incessantly exposed in their military career in that country, should not have relaxed their principles; and that, their stations being conspicuous in their own city, their example should not have propagated their levity and vicious propensities to the other classes, especially to the females, those great preservers of the morals of a people, but whose gentle natures are ill calculated to resist the seductions of insinuating libertines, who laugh modesty to scorn, and triumph in the seduction, which in the end leads to general depravity? This dereliction of moral, and hence ultimately of political virtue, not so much among the inferior classes, who still in a great measure retained their primitive simplicity, as throughout the higher ranks, whose degeneracy affected the very vitals of government, we shall have to enumerate among the principal causes which have facilitated the fatal blow that put an end to the confederacy.

Of the state of the finances of Berne, as well as of the other Helvetic governments, no accurate, or any ways satisfactory account, can well be gathered from the various writers who have vaguely treated on the subject; the detail of them being, perhaps designedly, involved in a degree of obscurity, which, to prevent cavils, may be salutary, when an opinion of the integrity of the administration is firmly established. Thus, though it was well known that Berne, and indeed most of the Finances.

CHAP. VIII.

cantons, possessed ample funds, from the gradual accumulation of a revenue, small indeed, but still exceeding the regular expenditure; though all concerned in this department of government were bound to lay exact accounts of their transactions before superior officers, and ultimately before the sovereign council; yet no kind of statement was ever divulged of the particulars, or even of the general balances of those accounts; and the public were, in fact, left to divine what might at any time have been the real state of the exchequer.

The principal branches of the revenue, the nature of which could not be kept from public notice, though their net produce was never accurately known, were: 1. The profits of the demesnes, consisting chiefly of the church lands, which had devolved to the state at the time of the Reformation, and to which, aware of the inexpediency of engrossing a large proportion of the landed property, the government have since made scarcely any additions: 2. The tithes, likewise sequestered at the Reformation, the produce of which was particularly appropriated to the maintenance of the clergy, of the public seminaries, and of various charitable establishments; a considerable part of them having at the same time been ceded to private individuals, who perhaps had some antiquated right to claim them: 3. Certain quit-rents[33] reserved to the state when lands were granted out to individuals for improvement; but the amount of which, being paid in coin, had gradually, by the depreciation of the currency, greatly diminished:[34] 4. A tax or fine, raised in the French district,

[33] *Censes foncières.*

[34] The produce of the three preceding articles has, by Meiners, been estimated at about sixty-seven thousand crowns.

on the alienation of landed property,[35] no doubt severely felt, the amount being no less than one-sixth of the purchase money in noble, and one-tenth in base tenures; and which, though ever so moderate, would have been highly impolitic had this been a commercial country: 5. The monopoly of salt; at first sight a very exceptionable establishment, but in this country not so pernicious, since it provided for a constant supply, and at a moderate price, of this necessary article, of which, when the trade was left open, there often was a great scarcity, the price being always high, and at best, fluctuating: to this was also added the exclusive sale of gunpowder, the quality of this article being essential towards the security of individuals: 6. The produce of the post, which was farmed out at sixty thousand livres: 7. The customs, tolls, and duties on merchandise, the net-produce of which has been estimated at five-and-twenty thousand crowns: 8. A duty on the wine imported into the city:[36] 9. The fines imposed for misdemeanors: and 10. Small retributions for the right of inhabitancy at Berne, for naturalization, and certain fees in juridical proceedings.

Although, without the expences of a court and of a standing army, and considering the scantiness of the stipends allowed to the members of the magistracy (the total of which was said not to exceed twenty thousand crowns) it should seem that the government of Berne might, out of the aggregate of the above revenue, not only have amply provided for all incidental and necessary charges, but also have accumulated considerable savings: yet those who have witnessed the munificence of that government in their public establishments, for the

[35] *Le Lod*; laudemium. [36] *Ohmgelt.*

CHAP. VIII.

aid, security, and convenience of their people; the many public edifices it entertained for the relief of the poor, the aged, and the infirm, and for restraining vice; the erecting and continual repairs of churches, of bridges, and roads, through the most craggy and inhospitable regions;[37] but above all the very liberal supplies that were granted to those who suffered from fire, inundations, the fall of impending rocks, the torrents of snow from the mountains which in an instant laid waste large populous tracts, and many other convulsions of nature to which this rugged country is incessantly exposed; those candid observers have frankly acknowledged, that the sources of revenue above specified could by no means be adequate to the expences which must be incurred, in order to keep the country in the state of prosperity at which it had lately arrived.

Thanks to the frugality of former generations, at times when fewer objects of convenience were deemed requisite, considerable capitals had been accumulated, the greatest part of which, having been placed in various productive funds, have within this century not only supplied ample means for defraying all the expences of the state, but also prevented the necessity of ever having recourse to loans or extraordinary contributions: and besides these ample capitals, we have the authority not only of general report, but also of the late iniquitous invaders, whose main object, in their unmerited attack, was manifestly the plunder of the treasures they stood in need of in order to carry on further depredations,[38]

[37] The road from the Oberland down to Leuk in the Valais, is the admiration of all travellers, and must have cost immense sums of money

[38] The coincidence of dates amply justifies the surmise (and the French have in

that the government of Berne had long retained in its coffers a large capital in specie, which enabled them at all times to afford relief to the distressed, or to answer any extraordinary demand either for foreign negotiation, or, if unavoidable, for preparation against foreign attack. This capital was deemed a sacred trust; nor was it ever accessible but with the concurrence of the avoyer in office, the two treasurers, the four bannerets, and the senior of the two secret senators, who had each a different key of the vault in which it was deposited. Nor were these authorized ever to open this vault without a special order of the sovereign council.[39]

Ecclesiastical Establishment.

The administration of ecclesiastical affairs was committed to the supreme consistory at Berne, composed of a senator who presided, the dean and one of the ministers of Berne, and six members of the great council. The whole canton was divided into thirteen chapters or dioceses, eight in the German and five in the French district; and into four hundred and sixteen

fact acknowledged it) that one of their chief objects in invading Swisserland, was the extorting the means of carrying on the Egyptian expedition. Thus they plundered their best friends, that they might be enabled to annoy one of their oldest allies.

[39] The particulars we have been able to collect concerning the receipts and issues of the government of Berne, are so vague, that we can only venture to give a few of them in a note, for which we do not demand implicit confidence. Stanyan, a century ago, rated the whole income of the canton at 300,000 crowns: Busching asserts, that in 1764, the capital of the canton, in the English funds, amounted to 460,000l.; that it had lent the Elector of Saxony 860,000 livres, and large sums to Sardinia, Denmark, Austria, and Wurtemburg; insomuch that, in 1770, the whole of its property, in foreign funds, amounted to at least 19,000,000 of livres. According to the same author, the treasure at Berne, in 1764, was not short of 9,000,000 of livres. Durand rated it no higher than 2,300,000 crowns. What sum the French have carried off is not sufficiently ascertained to be produced in evidence.

CHAP. VIII.

parishes, to each of which was appointed a pastor, and to some of the larger, an additional vicar or curate. These livings were distinguished into three classes, according to the stipends annexed to them.[40] In the German district, the older clergy succeeded to the more lucrative benefices by seniority; a practice that has been much censured, since, in consequence of it, inferior abilities often obtained promotion, and many of the incumbents, being once in the line of succession, would lay their heads on the soft pillow of indolence, having no incentive for more than common exertions. The vacancies in the lower classes, a few livings excepted which had their peculiar patrons, were filled by the senate; and here the prevalence of personal favour was often complained of Besides the supreme consistory, an ecclesiastical court was established at Berne, consisting of the dean and the nine pastors of the city, and five professors, who superintended the discipline of the church: the avoyer out of office had a right to preside at this court. The Pays de Vaud had likewise a court which exercised a censorial power, and an assembly that nominated to the vacancies. Each chapter, or diocese, had a dean appointed by the senate, who, together with a chamberlain, and a certain number of jurats or visitors, directed the clerical concerns of their districts, and reported their proceedings to the supreme consistory: and each town, or parish, had its peculiar consistory, which took cognizance of every offence

[40] The largest appointments were from one hundred and fifty to three hundred pounds sterling, and of these there were not above twenty. The middle class had between one hundred and fifty and seventy pounds. In the French they were, in general, smaller than in the German district.

against religion and morality. Every pastor was enjoined to keep registers, and report to his superiors all that related to the population, and principal concerns of his district.

The clergy, in this as well as in other parts of Swisserland, were held in high veneration. At Berne the dean, the first ecclesiastic of the state, ranked before the counsellors: a rural dean was equal to the bailiff; and in each town or parish, the minister had precedency before all the municipal officers: but this pre-eminence was all the political consequence they could boast; since, as we have already seen, only two ecclesiastics were admitted into the supreme consistory at Berne, the seven other members being laymen; and the patronage in the German district centered chiefly in the senate, while in the Pays de Vaud all ecclesiastical meetings were held under the immediate inspection of the bailiff. In order moreover to exclude the clergy as much as possible, from all interference in political affairs, it had been decreed, that no one in orders should be eligible either into the senate, council, or any other civil department; and that the ordination should confer so indelible a character, that no one, by resigning his preferment, should thereby become qualified to hold any secular employment.[41]

A useful establishment, perhaps not unworthy of imitation, was the ecclesiastical fund, which accrued from certain regulated, but very moderate, contributions of the more opulent incumbents, which was from time to time appropriated to the increase of the smaller livings. What a progressive fund of this nature would in time have produced, had not every

[41] They were not so strict at Zuric; any ecclesiastic who quitted his preferment being there allowed to enter into the political career.

CHAP. VIII.

salutary institution been subverted, may easily be conceived: and as the object of its institution must, after a certain period, have been sufficiently answered, it was intimated that the future accumulation would have been appropriated to the repairs and embellishment of churches, the building of organs, of which there were not many in the canton, and other improvements that might contribute to the edification of those disposed to practise the duties of religion.

Military Establishments.

Considering that this country never entertained any standing army, and that it had during some centuries experienced no war of any magnitude, it can hardly be expected that its military establishment should have kept pace with the great improvements that have been made by all the neighbouring powers. Its force consisted of a militia, imperfectly trained, and in which native valour alone could in some measure compensate for the want of that mechanical expertness, to which modern tactics have been of late in a great measure reduced. Every man, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, was enrolled, and liable to be called out to service; and each of them was to supply himself with an uniform, arms, and accoutrements.[42] Out of these, a body of forty thousand men were selected, and formed into twenty-one regiments of infantry, one-sixth grenadiers, another sixth musketeers, and the two other thirds fusileers, which latter were never called out but upon extraordinary emergencies; and from these the two preceding chosen bands were occasionally recruited. Four companies of chasseurs, or rifle men, were added and trained for the more arduous services in woods, among rocks, and in

[42] No one was licensed to marry unless he produced his complete military equipment.

narrow defiles. The cavalry of the canton consisted of eighteen squadrons of dragoons, and one company raised in the neighbourhood of Buren: as each man found his own horse, none but persons of some property entered into this service. A body of cuirassiers, some hundreds in number, was maintained by the great vassals, who supplied them with arms and horses. Four companies of artillery were trained with far greater precision than the rest of the militia: lastly, there was a city guard of three hundred and sixty men, one-third of which resided at Berne, and the rest in the vicinity; and these, with one hundred and three men, who formed the garrison of Arburg, were the only soldiers who could be properly denominated regulars. These troops were all officered, and at stated times drawn out to be reviewed; and their muster was regularly reported to the council of war, and ultimately to the sovereign council. The arsenal of Berne was well known to be richly supplied with a numerous artillery, and a great store of small arms; besides which, every seat of a bailiff contained an armoury, which, in case of an emergency, might have added to the defence of the district.

Imperfect as the discipline of this militia appears to have been, it would inevitably have been still more defective, had it not been for the foreign services, in which not only the privates, but much more the officers, were rendered very expert in the use of arms and military evolutions; the Swiss regiments having in general been considered as the best trained, and in fact, the flower of the armies in which they were engaged. This argument has been frequently adduced in favour of those services: but on the other hand, they have been as often reprobated on the score of the

CHAP. VIII.

depopulation they occasioned; of the sums they drew out of the country, few of the men, and none of the officers, of late living upon their pay; and above all, of the depravity they introduced into their towns, and in some measure also among the country people. Upon duly weighing the grounds on both sides of the question, it appears manifest that the practice upon the whole was pernicious; and that, had not the rulers of Berne been biassed by secret, and no doubt pecuniary motives, they would seriously have deliberated on the means of removing this evil.

Having given a general view of the government of Berne, we may pass rapidly over those of Lucern, Friburg, and Soleure, as they differed but little from the former, except in the numbers of their councils and senates, and in some respects in the mode of election; but in nothing that materially affected the principles of their political economy. Lucern was governed by a senate of thirty-six, and a council of sixty-four members, forming together a legislative body of one hundred, chiefly, though not exclusively, nobles, some plebeian burghers being admitted at every election. This body filled up its own vacancies by open suffrages; and the senate chose likewise its own members. A seat in the senate raised a plebeian and his family to the patrician rank, which was acknowledged as a title of nobility even by the scrupulous order of Malta. The greatest peculiarity in this aristocratical government was, that all questions relating to peace, war, and alliances, were referred to the burghers at large.

Lucern.

Friburg.

At Friburg the burghers elected the avoyers, the chancellor, the town clerk, the burgomaster or president of the law court, and the chief parochial priest. The legislative body consisted

of two hundred senators and counsellors, chosen by themselves out of seventy-one patrician families. The senate consisted of twenty-four members, and sixty of the great council constituted a committee, partly for elections, but chiefly for the dispatch of matters that required secrecy. Most of the elections were left to the absolute decision of hazard; a box, containing a number of compartments equal to that of the candidates, being presented to each of the electors, who threw in his ball without knowing for whom he voted. The advantages attending this chance mode, which was justly called the *blind ballot*, considering the limited number of persons eligible into the offices, were no doubt more specious than real.

Soleure.

At Soleure the sovereign council consisted of one hundred and one members, of which number, thirty-five constituted the senate. All these, as well as the two avoyers, the bannerets, treasurers, and tribunes, were chosen by the council, out of the body of citizens, whose number did not exceed four hundred.

2. Aristo-democratic Cantons.

In the three aristo-democratic cantons, the essential difference was, that the members both of the senate and council, were chosen from among the burghers at large, in their respective tribes; and that every burgher was not only eligible, but that the lowest among them have actually at times succeeded to the highest offices.

Zuric.

The senate and council of Zuric consisted jointly of two hundred and twelve members, of whom fifty were senators. The whole burghership was divided into thirteen tribes; one of which, containing the nobles, and those who exercised none of the professions of the other tribes, was distinguished by the name of the constables, and had some peculiar prerogatives.

CHAP. VIII.

The senate consisted of the two burgomasters, who presided alternately every six months; four stadholders or chief tribunes, being the lieutenants of the burgomasters; two treasurers, and the obman or administrator of the secularized church lands; six members chósen by the constables; three out of each of the other tribes; and six elected promiscuously out of any of the tribes. For the great council eighteen members were returned by the constables, and twelve by each of the other tribes; so that the whole legislative body consisted of two hundred and twelve members. The vacancies were immediately filled up; and the great offices were all at the nomination of the senate and council.

Basle.

Basle had no nobility.[43] The burghers were incorporated into eighteen tribes; three of which, belonging to little Basle, were blended into the fifteen of the great town in the elections of senators; but retained their separate votes in the nomination of counsellors. Four from each of the fifteen tribes of the great town, together with the two burgomasters, and two great tribunes, formed the senate: and these, added to twelve from each of the eighteen tribes, composed the council, which thus consisted of two hundred and eighty members. So far from the citizens at large being allowed to share in these elections, only those who had already seats in the council had the right of voting, whenever a vacancy was to be filled up out of their particular tribe. These elections however, were not decisive, three in some cases, and in others six being chosen, among whom, one was selected by lot.

[43] In 1516 the Basilians, being incensed against their nobles, who in the preceding war had sided with France, banished them out of the city; a few only, who renounced all distinctions of nobility, being suffered to remain.

Chance was also made to determine in the election of bailiffs, of the clergy, and what has often afforded matter for ridicule, of the professors in the university.[44]

Shaffhausen.

Twelve tribes, or abbeys, elected the senate and council of Shaffhausen, two members each for the former, and five for the latter of these bodies: these, together with the burgomasters, formed the supreme legislature. The vacancies were filled immediately by the free suffrages of all the members of the tribes. The two burgomasters, the stadholder or proconsul, and the two treasurers, were appointed by the plurality of voices in the council.

3. Democratic Cantons.

The governments of the six remaining cantons being purely democratical, it will be practicable to form a just idea of the spirit and operation of them, without nicely discriminating the shades that constituted some differences betwixt them. The sovereign authority in all of them resided with the people at large. At Uri, for instance, the people met on stated days, generally once a year, in an open field, about four thousand in number. At these assemblies, which were called the communities of the country,[45] each male, of the age of sixteen, had his suffrage. They were opened by solemn prayers, and oaths of fidelity and allegiance. The people next proceeded either to confirm the old, or to elect new magistrates, consisting of the landamman, who was generally continued a second year in office, the stadholder, the treasurer, and the secretary. They elected deputies to the general diets, or for foreign missions; named the bailiffs in their turns, most of the cantons

Uri.

[44] The celebrated mathematician John Bernouilli, drew the lot of professor of rhetoric, which it was some time before he had an opportunity of exchanging for the mathematical chair.

[45] *Lands-gemeind.*

CHAP. VIII.

having subject provinces in common with others; and deliberated on all matters of more than usual importance. For the dispatch of the ordinary business, a council of regency [46] was named; each community, of which there were ten, electing six counsellors. The landammah, who presided at this board, had the right of calling in additional members whenever he saw occasion. Each community, each parish, each village, had its own independent jurisdiction; it conducted its own pecuniary concerns, its revenue from lands, woods, and alps; and chose its secular clergy. These primary communities met at least once a month.

Schwitz.

Schwitz consisted of six communities, each of which returned ten members to the council of regency. The *street court*, an institution that savours much of patriarchal simplicity, was peculiar to this canton. The lieutenant of police,[47] on receiving a complaint, called together seven of the first competent persons he met with in his way, who having heard both parties, immediately declared their opinion concerning the dispute. Its jurisdiction did not extend beyond a debt of fifty florins. England, with reason, prides itself in its trials by jury; but it cannot boast of having been the only inventor of that salutary institution.

Underwalden.

Underwalden consisted of two grand divisions, the one above, and the other below the Kern wood. Each consisted of six communities or parishes; but the former had the preponderancy before the latter, in the proportion of two to one, in all business of finance, elections of deputies and bailiffs, and other matters that concerned the whole canton. Zug, the

Zug.

[46] *Land rath.*

[47] *Gross Weibel*, or Grand Sautier.

least of the cantons, consisting of only five communities, two municipal and three rural ones, had a more complicated government than any of the democratic states. It had its general assembly held in a public place at Zug, into which no ecclesiastic was admitted; but this interfered no further than in the elections of the chief magistrates: all other concerns were debated in the separate communities, and the majority of their decisions was conclusive. The council of regency, held in the town, possessed the executive power.

Glaris.

The government of the canton of Glaris, which consisted of fifteen communities, called *Tagwen*, differed so little from the other democratic cantons, that, were it not for the mixture of religions which required some peculiar regulations, it would have sufficed merely to name it in the list. The chief magistrates were taken alternately from the two religions; but the protestant landamman remained three, and the catholic only two years in office. This chief magistrate, and his lieutenant the stadholder, were always of different religions. The council of regency consisted of forty-eight protestant, and fifteen catholic members. All the other magistrates alternated; and the times of their continuing in office were nearly in the same proportion. Each communion had its particular court of justice; but when the parties were of different religions, it was decreed that the assessor, who might have the casting vote, should be of the same religion as the defendant: each religion had moreover its particular assembly, its treasury, and arsenal. Of the subject districts, the protestants had retained the county of Werdenberg, and the catholics the Gaster and Uznach; each being of the religion of the sovereign. This simple people may have been at times

CHAP. VIII.

deceived in some of the means they adopted for securing tranquillity and equal justice to all parties; but equity appears manifestly to have been the principal, if not the sole, motive in their political institutions.

Appenzel.

Of Appenzel, little requires to be said, but that being likewise of two religions, they who professed them had resolved to separate into different districts; the nine interior communities, called the *inner Rhodes*, being catholic, and the *exterior Rhodes*, consisting of twenty parishes, professing the protestant religion. Each district had its general assembly, its council of regency, its treasury, and police: but though each sent a deputy to the Helvetic diet, they had jointly only one vote; and this they forfeited if they happened to differ in opinion.

4. Allies. The Grison Country.

Among the allied states, the government of the Grison country deserves some particular notice; as it will be vain to seek in history, or in the polities of our own times, a form so purely democratic in its theory, and yet so remote from it in the application. The three leagues were divided into twenty-six higher jurisdictions, and subdivided into fifty-nine communities, many of them consisting of a single village, each of which being a distinct, though very diminutive republic, had its peculiar and independent constitution, chose its own civil magistrates, consisting in general of an amman, podesta or ministral, and twelve jurats, its pastors, and deputies to the general diet. All these it had the power to cashier, and in case of delinquency, to punish, without admitting the least interference of the collective body, unless by way of intercession. In these elections, and in all public deliberations, every male of a stated age had his vote.[48]

[48] This age, in some communities, was so early as the fourteenth year.

The link of union among these petty states was the general diet to which each community sent one, and four of the larger ones two deputies. These, together with the chiefs of each league, formed a body of sixty-six members, who met in rotation at Coire, Davos, and Jlanz, about the beginning of September, and continued sitting about three weeks or a month. It is to be observed, that these deputies were not authorized to decide on any question, but that they were bound in every instance to send to their constituents, a statement of the matter in agitation, and to demand special instructions, to which they were bound to adhere. Each community might however at all times wave this privilege, by investing its deputy with a general power to act according to his own discretion: and as by far the majority of the electors were persons wholly unqualified to judge upon complicated matters of government, it may well be imagined that every society of this nature would frequently be biassed by a few of its members, superior to the rest either in mental qualifications, or the still more prevalent influence of property. Hence many of these unlimited powers were obtained; and even when they were withheld, it was generally in the power of the leaders, by some ambiguity or peculiarity in the statement laid before the communities, to obtain the decision that best suited their purposes. There was no established board or council, which could be considered as an executive body.

This will suffice to point out to the reader, the principal source of the undue influence which at once defaced the most prominent feature of this popular constitution. An influence which men will in vain endeavour to counteract: and which, when the interests or passions of the leaders happen to be at

CHAP. VIII.

variance, will ever open the door to factions and civil commotions, the horrors of which that country has abundantly experienced.[49] Mr. Coxe's judicious observations on the incompetency of annual elections by the people at large, towards securing the freedom of a state, are well worth the serious consideration of every Englishman, who has the prosperity of his country truly at heart.[50]

The Valais.

In the Valais also, six of the communities (which were called *Dizains*, the whole state being divided into ten districts) were strictly democratical and independent, each having its own civil as well as criminal jurisdiction, being governed by its own laws and customs, and sending deputies to a general diet, who were bound to conform themselves to the instructions given them by their constituents. In criminal matters however, an appeal lay to the general diet, where the bishop presided, and exerted a considerable degree of influence.

The dizain of Sion, which was governed by a burgomaster and a council of twenty-four members, may be classed among the aristocratical communities. The three remaining dizains were subject to the diet, which consisted of only nine votes, the bishop, the captain-general,[51] and the deputations of the seven sovereign dizains, each having a single suffrage, though they generally sent four, and when they pleased, a still greater number of delegates.

Of the fluctuating government of Geneva we shall have occasion to speak at large in the next Chapter: nor shall we enter here into any further particulars concerning the consti-

[49] Particularly in the war of Valteline. See vol. ii. p. 179. seq.

[50] See Coxe's Travels in Swisserland, t. iii. p. 230. seq.

[51] *Lands-hauptman.*

tutions of the allied bishoprick of Basle, the principality of Neuchattel, the abbey and city of St. Gallen, Mulhausen, Bienne, Gersau, and Engelberg, some of which exhibit a mixture of governments, the unravelling of which, would require more space, than is intended to be here allotted to these subjects; especially as they offer no particular circumstance or observation which may tend to illustrate the spirit and genius of this heterogeneous commonwealth.

Helvetic Diets.

Having thus taken a cursory view of the several component parts, the aggregate of which formed the Helvetic confederacy; we may now proceed to contemplate the bond of union, to which they chiefly owed the rank they have long held among the powers of Europe; but which, as has been observed by a writer of much authority,[52] was improperly called an union, since, except in what concerned the common sovereignties, there were but few points in which they necessarily came in contact with each other. Its true denomination appears to have been that of a permanent defensive alliance, the object of which was the protection of each member against all foreign attacks, and the preservation of interior tranquillity, by the weighty preponderancy of a majority operating against those who betrayed a disposition to create disturbances. It was by no means a representative government; it had no common administration, no concentrated authority, no executive power, no public treasury, no mint: nor could it, even in its relations with foreign powers, be considered as an individual state, since most of the alliances were made not with the collective body at large, but with one or more of the members se pa-

[52] Dict. de la Suisse: Discours preliminaire.

CHAP. VIII.

rately, several of them having expressly reserved the power of forming such connections.[53]

The diets, which thus appear to have been held more for the purpose of communication, than either of legislation, or any other functions of government, were either general or special, ordinary or extraordinary. The general ordinary diets consisted of the deputies of all the cantons, and of those of the allies who were distinguished by the appellation of associates. They for a long time met annually in the month of July at Baden; till, after the five old catholic cantons had
1712. been excluded from the co-sovereignty of that country, their deputies were spared the mortification of assembling at a place where they had once held a marked pre-eminence; and the meetings were transferred to Frauenfeld, a town which, though situated in the province of Thurgau, subject to the eight ancient cantons, could yet boast of prerogatives which bordered nearly upon independence.[54]

The canton of Zuric, which had the priority of rank, the custody of the common seal and archives, and the direction of the chancery, had the right to summon the general diets, and

[53] The Germanic body, and the seven united provinces, were likewise aggregates of independent states; but they differed widely from the Helvetic confederacy, having each a collective sovereign, the one an emperor and a diet, and the other a stadholder and states-general.

[54] This town, when it was, in 1460, taken by the Swiss from the house of Austria, not only retained all its privileges, but even obtained such additional prerogatives as almost amounted to absolute sovereignty. It had its great and little councils, its avoyers, all chosen within itself, and both the high and low jurisdictions. The only badges of dependence were, that the Landamman of Thurgau presided at its criminal court, and that there lay an appeal from the little council to the general diet.

in extraordinary cases, to fix the time and place of meeting. In partial assemblies, in which Zuric had no concern, the senior of the cantons that were convened, was authorized to perform this office. To the general assemblies, each canton sent two deputies. The meetings were opened by formal speeches from the chief deputies of each canton; those of Underwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, who represented each a separate district, having all of them the right of delivering a complimentary harangue.

The presiding deputy, after this, proposed all matters to be discussed, beginning with those that immediately concerned the interests of the collective body, and the execution of the laws; referring in general to the *priests ordinance* for ecclesiastical affairs, to the *convention of Sempach* for what related to military concerns, to the *union of Stanz* for the harmony to be preserved between the different members of the confederacy, and to the *peace of Arau* for any question that might arise concerning the common bailiwicks. They next examined into the causes brought before them by appeal. Audiences were then given to foreign ministers, who, whenever they saw cause, were allowed to summon extraordinary diets; in which case however, they were required to defray all the expences attending them. The bailiff of the place where the diet met, called upon the members successively for their opinions; and in case of an equality of suffrages, which rarely happened, he had a casting vote. Questions of a general import, and of any magnitude, were not ultimately decided, but references were made to the different cantons; and those of superior moment, or of a partial nature, were frequently referred to a special, or to a subsequent ordinary meeting.

CHAP. VIII.

After this, the deputies who had no share in the common bailiwicks,[55] made each another complimentary discourse, and withdrew. The bailiffs hereupon reported concerning the affairs of their different districts, gave in their accounts, and stated particularly the sentences they had pronounced, and the fines they had imposed. All this was carefully investigated; and the awards, if complained of, were either confirmed or repealed. The conduct of every subordinate magistrate was severely scrutinized; and where any delinquency appeared, severely censured: and here terminated the functions of a general diet.

Among the special diets, those of the two religions were the most frequent and important. The deputies of the protestant cantons usually assembled at Arau, and those of the catholic at Lucern. Even at the general diets at Frauenfeld they often held separate sessions, when affairs of religion were brought into debate. A deputy from each of twelve out of the cantons,[56] met annually, in the month of August, at Lugano or Locarno, and enquired into the conduct of the bailiffs of the Italian provinces: and special commissions of the same nature were moreover, at stated times, appointed by all the co-regents, to examine into the proceedings of their delegates in the bailiwicks, which readily received, and were empowered to redress the complaints of those who felt themselves aggrieved. These sessions of controul were known by the name of syndicatures.

[55] Thurgau, Rheinthal, Sargans, and the upper free bailiwicks, subject only to the eight ancient cantons.

[56] Appenzel had no share in the Italian bailiwicks, they having been acquired before this canton was admitted into the confederacy.

The law of arbitration, of which frequent mention has been made, was the result of most of the compacts that had been entered into by these states; and gave rise to many secondary meetings, which were summoned for the purpose of adjusting disputes occasionally arising between different members of the confederacy. Whenever these occurred, each canton at variance sent two deputies to the place agreed upon in their treaties, and these, when their opinions were equally divided, chose a sur-arbitrator from one of the neutral cantons. This umpire was for the time absolved from his oath of allegiance to his own sovereign, that none of his engagements might clash with the impartiality of his award. He was not allowed to propose a new opinion, but could only confirm one of those previously delivered by the deputies; but his decision was final. All the cantons were not equally bound to submit their differences to the law of arbitration, the old ones having reserved the power of declining it, while those that entered late in the confederacy were bound to adhere to it whenever it was proposed to them.

The provision known by the name of the *defensional*,[57] had been made (though we do not find that it was often recurred to) for providing for the security of the state on sudden and very urgent emergencies, when the tardy proceedings of the diets might have been attended with dangerous consequences. Deputies were on those occasions named by all the members of the Helvetic body, who were invested with full powers to direct the force of the nation, to be raised in the proportion specified in the above tables, in the manner that should to them seem most effectual. These deputies might truly have been

[57] See vol, ii. p. 221.

CHAP. VIII.

stiled representatives, not of the particular cantons that had nominated them, but of the nation at large. The origin of this institution, like that of many others in this country, is not distinctly known; but its articles appear to have been particularly digested at the time of the peace of Westphalia, when the nation acquired its relative consequence in Europe, by the acknowledgment of its absolute independence from the empire.

The most superficial observer will doubtless perceive that this constitution, admirably calculated for the security and domestic tranquillity of a peaceful, free-minded, unambitious people, scrupulously tenacious of every right, however trivial, and aware, in their simplicity, of the dangers of innovation, would betray much debility and inertness, if put to the test of a vigorous attack from abroad; particularly at a time when, having themselves, through a long interval of peace, neglected the improvements made by other nations in the art of war, they could oppose nothing but an undaunted courage to the refined system of tactics displayed by highly disciplined troops, and especially to the tremendous effects of a formidable artillery. Such an attack it might perhaps still have repelled, had the nation, availing itself of the natural strength of its country, co-operated with the same unanimity as it did when it defeated the attacks of Austria, Burgundy, and the nobles: but the want of combination in its measures as well as of its forces, of a centre of union, and we may add, of a power to compel the reluctant, has no doubt ultimately proved the chief cause of the fatal catastrophe we have lately witnessed. Should independence once more gladden these valleys, and exhilarate the shepherds of these craggy mountains, the wise and benevolent restorers

of the free constitution that must be devised for them, will most assuredly advert to this circumstance; and provide some means to call forth the whole strength in case of an attack, which, like the late invasion, revolted indeed the bulk of the people, but could not concentrate the disjointed parts, nor rouse the trepidating rulers into a well directed plan of vigorous resistance.

Alliances.

Although, from the copiousness of the subject, it has appeared improper to enter into any particulars concerning the alliances of the Helvetic states with different powers; yet this slight survey of their polity might justly be deemed materially defective, should no mention whatever be made of the several foreign connexions they entered into, from the time they became a constituent part of the political system of Europe.

The house of Austria finding itself, after repeated attempts to subjugate this country, not only frustrated in its designs, but even exposed to the successful attacks of the irritated peasants, thought it expedient at length to convert into a peace (1414.) of fifty years, the conditions of several previous truces, which the dukes never did, and probably never meant to observe. New infractions, succeeded by fresh accommodations, still kept up an inveterate animosity between them, which at length yielded to the common hatred, fomented by the French king, against the rash and unfortunate Duke of Burgundy. Sigismund of Austria, willing to avail himself of the valour of the Swiss, the impression of whose arms his ancestors had so often experienced, concluded, what was denominated a perpetual and hereditary union with the eight cantons and the city of Soleure, which however was to relate only to the Austrian ter- (1477.) ritories immediately bordering upon Swisserland. This in fact

CHAP. VIII.

was a defensive alliance; but so far from being perpetual, it was readily broken when the Suabian league resolved to curb the independent spirit of the confederates. Having failed in this attempt, the Austrian emperor Maximilian the First, renewed the same compact with some of the (1500.) cantons: and soon after, having succeeded to the dominions of Duke Sigismund, ratified it in a more solemn manner with the twelve cantons, and the city of St. Gallen; expressly including in the treaty his grandson, since eminent by the name of Charles the Fifth. This prince having inherited the county of Burgundy, his crafty grandsire well knew that he would stand in great need, if not of the protection, at least of the neutrality of this people, towards the tranquil possession of that province: nor was he blind to the importance of the Swiss in the wars he foresaw he should have to carry on in Italy. Philip the Second, King of Spain, as one of the representatives of the house of (1557.) Austria, renewed this treaty nearly in the terms of the original compact. The capitulate of Milan, first entered into (1467.) with Galeazzo Sforza, and since claimed by two French monarchs,[53] and incorporated into the alliance between Philip the Second and the catholic cantons, became, when that province was ceded to the dukes of Austria, an additional link between those princes and the Swiss cantons.

The vicinity of the territories of Savoy, and the many dissensions necessarily fomented by this contiguity, and the various complicated claims of each party, and of their several vassals, produced, as we have noticed in a former Chapter, various struggles, which were terminated by treaties and conventions, rather resembling temporary cessations of hostilities, than real

[53] Lewis the Twelfth, and Francis the First.

accommodations of differences. When, after the Reformation, the catholic cantons conceived a jealousy of the rising power of those of the protestant persuasion, it became easy for the Duke of Savoy, who was bent upon recovering the luxuriant tracts in the Pays de Vaud (which Berne and Friburg had wrested from him, and which he never viewed from the opposite shores of the lake, without repining) to obtain an alliance with six of the catholic cantons: and this soon after led to a subsequent league, even with Berne, in which the canton agreed to a restitution of a part of those territories, on being confirmed in the possession of the remainder. These alliances, when Savoy was menaced by the Spanish arms, became a subsidiary treaty, or rather a capitulation for the supply of troops, of which some have ever since been retained in the pay of the court of Turin. (1560.) (1564.) (1617.)

The most extensive, intimate, and important alliance of the Helvetic states, was no doubt the league with the crown of France. We have already traced the origin of the predilection the French monarchs have ever entertained for the Swiss troops, up to the memorable combat in the cemetery of St. Jacob, near Basle. The heroic valour which a handful of the Confederates there displayed, gave rise to the treaty between Charles the Seventh, which ten years after was ratified by Lewis the Eleventh, and has ever since subsisted, under various modifications, and with very few interruptions. The enumeration of all the conventions, capitulations, and treaties between France and the cantons, would alone fill an ample volume. Whenever a breach of promise on the part of France caused a temporary intermission in these compacts, it generally cost the monarch more to appease the angry Swiss (1453.)

CHAP. VIII.

than if he had fulfilled his engagements. As if defeats were to rank among the trophies that signalized this people, the
(1516.) disastrous day of Marignan impressed Francis the First with so high a sense of the Helvetic valour, that, without loss of time, he renewed the alliance with the cantons, which he denominated, and wished to be considered as *perpetual*. Each of his successors renewed the league; and Lewis the Fourteenth extended it not only to the thirteen cantons,
(1663.) but to all their allies and associates. After the war of Tockenburg, in which the ties of union among the cantons themselves were rent asunder, and foreign alliances sunk into neglect, the French monarch offered a renewal of the league, with all the favourable stipulations it had ever comprised: but the protestant cantons, having taken umbrage at the interference of the French ambassador in favour of the catholics, and suspecting that some secret articles, detrimental to their own interests, had been inserted in a new treaty between that crown and the latter cantons, shewed a decided aversion to accept of any terms; nor was their reluctance wholly surmounted till after that monarch's death.

The temporary treaties with the pope, chiefly brought about by the turbulent Cardinal of Sion, soon yielded to the want of punctuality in the pontiff in fulfilling his engagements: and this breach of faith, in a character deemed so sacred, proved some time after a powerful argument in the hands of
(1615.) the reformers. A subsidiary treaty had, since the beginning of the last century, subsisted between the cantons of Berne and Zuric, and the republic of Venice, in which it was stipulated, that the troops granted by the cantons, were only to be employed in the defence of the territories of the republic on the

terra firma: but of these services, if any were ever performed, no memorial has reached our notice.

Next to the French, the alliance of greatest consequence to the protestant cantons, was that with the Seven United Provinces, which had been first entered into jointly with England, when the Protector Cromwell concluded a peace with the States General; and the Swiss protestants felt the ties of gratitude for the protection these two states had afforded them in their struggles subsequent to the Reformation. William the Third having ascended the British throne, became solicitous to engage Swiss troops in his service, and actually concluded a subsidiary treaty, of which England indeed has never availed itself, but which has ever since afforded to Holland a large body of men, to whom they entrusted the barrier that was long thought an important check to the grasping ambition of France, and whom the Dutch ever looked upon as the flower of their army. On settling the capitulation for these troops, Berne and the Grison leagues added a clause, stipulating that England, at the desire of Holland, should at any time be at liberty to claim a similar supply of troops, upon the same terms as had been agreed between them and the republic.

(1654.)

(1690.)

(1712, and 1713.)

Spain and Naples have long entertained Swiss troops in their service; but the capitulations, by virtue of which they were authorized to raise them, have not come to our knowledge.[59] The well-informed writer of the preliminary discourse to the Dictionnaire de la Suisse, states, that the number of Swiss, whom Lewis the Fourteenth retained in his service, amounted to twenty-eight thousand; but that of late the regiments in France did not contain more than fifteen thousand five hun-

[59] An account of the Swiss troops in foreign services, in the year 1780, the accuracy

CHAP. VIII.

dred men. Taking therefore an average of one thousand three hundred men per regiment, the Swiss troops in foreign services formed an army of near forty thousand men. Besides these, the French king, the king of Sardinia, and the Pope, had each a body of guards, to which they particularly committed the safety of their persons, known by the name of the *Cent Suisses:* and at this time, there probably is scarce an army in Europe, where numbers of Swiss adventurers, urged by their love of arms, are not enrolled.

of which however is not here insisted upon, contains the following number of regiments:

In France	- -	12
Holland	- -	6
Sardinia	- -	4
Naples	- -	4
Spain	- -	4
	Total	30

CHAP. IX.

Disturbances at Geneva in the eighteenth Century.

A recent historian, of considerable eminence, on mentioning the disturbances that have agitated the republic of Geneva within the present century, observes, perhaps with more truth than will be readily admitted by the victims of their patriotic ardor, 'that the revolutionary spirit, which has gone abroad 'in our days, and which has produced its most tremendous ef- 'fects in a neighbouring kingdom, appears to have long since 'exhibited an inauspicious prelude in this unhappy city; in 'which the same principles, passions and energies; the same 'foibles, errors and delinquencies, which have produced the 'downfall of the French monarchy, have urged on both the 'ruling and the subordinate ranks, and impelled them to 'their ruin. The fatal coincidence of these destructive causes,' adds the same author, 'whenever it takes place in a devoted 'country, may well alarm each friend of political freedom, 'domestic tranquillity, and general civilization; and cause him 'to shudder at the impending catastrophe[1].' The people of Geneva, full of activity, ingenuity and perseverance, seem always to have been stimulated by an elastic impulse, which ill accorded with the narrow boundaries of their limited territory. Ever ambitious to act a conspicuous part on the theatre

[1] Spittler's Sketch of the History of the European States, vol. ii. p. 35.

CHAP. IX.

of Europe, as this could not be effected by their political consequence, they have courted celebrity not only by their improvements in sciences, arts, and manufactures, in which they have most deservedly acquired great eminence, but also by their political speculations, and refinements upon government; which, while they prompted them to struggle among themselves for the nice limits of authority, they little thought would in the end lead to the loss of wealth, independence, and religion, and finally to the very extinction of their ever fluctuating polity.

It seems to be the peculiar fate of republics, that when by great unanimity and vigorous exertions, they have at length succeeded to repel and discourage the attacks of foreign enemies, the dæmon of discord invades the peaceful commonwealth, and prompts men of a restless spirit, and high ambition, to cavil at the authorities in which, perchance, no share has been allotted them: and these, should the rulers happen not to be endowed with sufficient prudence, wisdom, and moderation, either to restrain their seditious practices, or to yield to their just demands, are sure to raise a clamour that will ever end in faction and domestic strife. Of such men there are numbers in every state; and as no government upon earth can be perfect, they will always find plausible pretences for arraigning either some institution, or the conduct of some envied or perhaps offending magistrate. In a well regulated monarchy, such men are long kept in awe by the vigour, the stability, and splendor of the throne: but in a republic, and especially in a small democracy, where individuals maintain a familiar intercourse among themselves, no such fascinating influence commands the deference of the subordinate ranks, in favour of those who

steer the helm. This no doubt is a trite observation; and yet the disregard of it has hurried many states into absolute destruction, and many societies and individuals into deplorable calamities: and to none perhaps does it apply more aptly than to the small and once flourishing republic of Geneva, which probably might still be happy, had the contending parties been wise enough to admit, that the best criterion of a good government is the prosperity of the community.

Constitution, Anno 1700.

The people of Geneva, at the beginning of the present century, were divided into four classes: 1. The citizens; being the sons of citizens or of burghers, born at Geneva, and capable of holding every office in the state: 2. The burghers; or those who had purchased the freedom of the city, who sat in the general assembly, might be chosen into the council of two hundred, but were not admissible into the senate, or any of the higher employments in the government: 3. The natives; the sons of inhabitants, born at Geneva, but who enjoyed no municipal privileges, except a few commercial franchises: and lastly, the inhabitants, who could boast of no right except a domiciliary sufferance. The sovereign power resided in the general assembly, at which every citizen and burgher above five and twenty years of age had a seat and suffrage. This assembly, besides its legislative authority, and the power of making war, peace, and alliances, and of imposing taxes, had, in its ordinary meetings, the right of electing all the principal magistrates, consisting of the four syndics, six auditors, the treasurer, and some law officers; but this right, in order to obviate the tumults that often attend free popular elections, extended no further than the power of selecting out of a certain number of candidates proposed by the senate and great coun-

CHAP. IX.

cil. The executive power was vested in the senate, consisting of twenty-five members, and the great council of two hundred; the election into this senate and council, as well as various subordinate boards, being reserved to their own reciprocal nomination, without any interference on the part of the citizens. This privilege, together with the right of proposing candidates for the offices of magistracy, and other uncommon powers vested in the senate, it may well be imagined, were considered as aristocratical prerogatives, injurious to the sovereignty of the people; and accordingly were among the first causes of the frequent disturbances of which it is now required to take a cursory survey. The events here to be related, may indeed appear trivial to those accustomed to contemplate the concerns of great nations and extensive empires;[2] but they are not so to the philosophic mind, bent on tracing to its origin the impulse of the passions, which here displayed themselves with far less restraint than they are allowed to do in a vigorous and well regulated government; and the effects of which afford a memorable instance of the fallacy of human wisdom.[3]

Troubles appeased in 1707.

No sooner had the independence and security of the repub-

[2] One of the greatest monarchs at present in Europe, has compared a commotion at Geneva to *a storm in a tea-cup*.

[3] The statements here given are almost wholly taken from the accounts of Meister and Meiners; both which are allowed by the learned and judicious G. E. Haller, and other competent judges, to be sufficiently accurate and impartial. We give them the preference before various more ample narratives, especially the valuable work of Sir Francis d'Ivernois; the authors we follow having been no ways personally concerned in the commotions. Several hundreds of publications on these troubles are enumerated by Haller, which at least shew that no argumentation has been spared in elucidating the points in contest. They who may not find the account here given sufficiently ample, will please to recollect that, being intended chiefly for English readers, a more circumstantial detail might be found tedious, if not superfluous.

lic acquired some degree of stability, than commerce and industry became prevalent among the citizens, and soon produced riches and luxury, which insensibly led to an inequality of conditions that powerfully stimulated the unruly passions of pride, envy and ambition. The opulent and ruling families began now to transfer their habitations to a particular district named the city, while the inferior classes were retained in the lower town by their lucrative occupations. This habitual separation, added to the extent of power which the senate and great council arrogated to themselves, soon created a jealousy and alienation among the people, which was increased by every new incident, however trivial in its nature, or harmless in its tendency. A material change in the disposition of all ranks of the inhabitants was likewise operated by the great number of French refugees who were allowed to settle in the city; and who gradually introduced a spirit of contention, egotism, envy, and insubordination, which prompted the people to place more confidence in their own strength, than in their constitution, or in the patriotism of their leaders. Several law-suits were about this time determined in a manner that gave offence, not only to the parties condemned, but in some cases also to a numerous body of relatives and adherents: and one in particular, in which Fatio, a member of the great council, a man of great parts, acquirements and energy, but withal of a most fiery and aspiring temper, had been called in as advocate, was decided in a manner displeasing to the majority of the citizens, and particularly offensive to the pleader. The discontented thought themselves called upon to take effectual steps towards securing themselves against further encroachments of arbitrary power. The first grievance against which

Fatio.

CHAP. IX.

they determined to remonstrate was, the manner of voting at elections, which instead of an open suffrage, they, in a declaration delivered in to the attorney general in the month of
1706. December, required to be henceforth decided, in the manner practised in the senate, by a secret ballot. Their demand, being contrary to the established laws, was negatived in the council: but the citizens persisted in their claim, alleging that in their request to amend an exceptionable law, they only expressed a wish to approach nearer to the mode of proceeding in the senate.

About this time one of the Trembley family was elected into the council in preference to an aged, respectable, and popular citizen, on whom, had the election been perfectly unbiassed, it was imagined the choice would have fallen. The people noticed that there were already two of that name in the council; and the addition of a third they thought contrary, if not to the letter, at least to the spirit of their laws. De la Chena, an enthusiastic republican, urged some of the citizens to renew, at the general assembly which was to meet
1707. in the month of January for the election of the syndics, the demand that all questions be decided by ballot: and others availing themselves of the spirit of reform that prevailed among the people, were preparing motions for additional amendments, the principal of which were, that the senate should no longer interfere in the election of counsellors; that the number of counsellors of the same family should be still further restricted; and that a code of the public edicts should be printed for the use of the citizens. Fatio checked the ardour of these hasty reformers, alleging that according to the fundamental laws, this general assembly, which met merely for

the election of syndics, could take no cognizance of any matter which had not been previously discussed in the great council. De la Chena resolved now to pursue a different course: he drew up a memorial containing the abovementioned articles; caused it to be signed by a considerable number of citizens, and delivered it to the first syndic de Normandie. An order upon this was issued, prohibiting all signatures of this nature. De la Chena insisted that they were not an innovation; that no law existed against them; and that without them, the citizens had no means of conveying their proposals or remonstrances. The ex-syndic Trembley endeavoured to persuade him that mechanics are not competent judges of matters of state: 'and do you think,' answered de la Chena, 'that com-'mon sense is the exclusive monopoly of the senate?'

The great council called upon de la Chena to take back his memorial; and on his refusing to comply, the first syndic, in his presence, threw it into the fire. The enraged citizens had now recourse to the attorney-general; but soon found that this public officer, whose province it was to defend the rights of the people, was unwilling to espouse their cause. Five hundred of them assembled soon after, before the town-house, and were met by a deputation of the senate, with the second syndic Chouet, at their head. He represented to them that the practice of signatures was of recent date, and at all times dangerous; that the memorial had been burnt, not from any disrespect to the framers of it, but principally out of tenderness for some of those who had signed it; and that for the same reason, the whole affair had better be buried in oblivion. A loud murmur ensued: Thomas de Lolme, in the name of the rest, exclaimed, 'What tenderness? and for whom?

CHAP. IX.

'Signatures may be offensive to the senate, but they are not 'illegal.' Chouet assured them that, so far from their memorial having been treated with contempt, commissioners had been actually appointed for the purpose of deliberating on its contents; and proposed to them to chuse a number of delegates to be joined to this commission. The citizens instantly named the two lawyers, Fatio and Revillod, together with Piaget, Marcet, Le Maitre, de Lolme, de la Chena, and some others; and the deliberations began without delay, but soon broke out into mutual reproaches and menaces. The delegates of the people at length consented to wave the right of subscription, if any other mode were pointed out to them for giving effect to their remonstrances. The syndics promised, that within a month a satisfactory answer should be returned; upon which the citizens adjourned to the Treille,[4] where Fatio mounted on a bench, and strove to pacify them. He assured them that the answer could not but be favourable; and that if it were otherwise, they might still have recourse to a general assembly. Their clamours ceased, and they withdrew peaceably.

Fatio recommended in council, that when either three senators, ten counsellors, or fifty citizens, gave in a proposal on any subject whatever, signed by them, the senate and council should immediately take it into consideration, and, within a fortnight, lay the result of their deliberations before the general assembly, there to be either confirmed or negatived. The magistrates now perceived that Fatio's drift was to establish the purest forms of democracy: and in order to gain time, in hopes of allaying the minds of the people, they

[4] A public walk.

proceeded very slowly in their deliberations. At length, on the eleventh of February, they resolved, that the mode of signature was not only superfluous, but dangerous; that only verbal representations of the citizens should be admitted; that these should be taken into consideration within the space of one month after the communication; and that all former edicts, together with the remarks of the magistrates thereon, should be forthwith sent to the press. The questions concerning the ballot, and the limitation of the number of kindred senators and counsellors, were adjourned to a future day.

Fatio meanwhile gained over two considerable adherents to his party, the auditor Gallatin, and the ex-counsellor and Prussian agent, de Normandie; and with them he planned a mode of election by ballot, which was adopted, and was long after practised. The citizens now called loudly for a committee for revising and promulgating the book of statutes: they once more proposed some restrictions concerning the number of kindred senators; but above all, demanded that an annual meeting of the general assembly should be held on the first of June, to decide on all new topics relating to the state. Gallatin added a proposal, that forty citizens should be admitted as honorary members or adjuncts, without right of suffrage, into the great council; and that the vacancies at that board be occasionally filled up by lot, from among this number.

The senate paying little regard to these proposals, the citizens met again in great numbers in the Manege, and exhorted each other to persist strenuously in their just demands. The senate had gained over a few of them, and these were branded with the appellation of new Mamelukes: but the magistrates, unable to stem the tide of popular clamour, agreed to a general

CHAP. IX.

legislative assembly, which was appointed for the twenty-eighth of April,[5] to which no natives or inhabitants were to be admitted, and previous to which, singular precautions were taken to prevent tumults or insurrection. The senate decreed, that at the opening of the assembly, each member should take the oath usually administered to citizens; but these thought it a palpable incongruity to swear previously to a constitution, which in the course of the meeting might perhaps undergo some alteration. The objects in contemplation were warmly debated, not only in conversation, but in many fugitive writings; among which, '*A letter from one citizen to another*,' contained the following display of the principles maintained by the ruling party:—'A people,' it is there said, 'cannot govern itself: all who have attempted it, have sooner 'or later become the slaves of their artful demagogues: but a 'people that entrusts others with the executive authority, 'never ceases to watch over the abuse of this delegated 'power: that state is free in which the people make the laws. 'A people may resume its original power, but no wise people 'will ever do it, on any but very urgent occasions.' These maxims are next applied to the government of Geneva, and, after expatiating largely on the excellence of its constitution: 'What can divert the magistrates,' adds the author, 'from 'the public good? why should they be less zealous for it than 'the citizens? Those who insinuate that the council endeavours to grasp at the sovereign authority, which belongs 'solely to the people, are vile calumniators: but the council 'knows the dangers of a popular assembly that ventures to deliberate on state affairs; and our ancestors knew these perils,

[5] It was postponed to the fifth of May.

'at a time when the community consisted of only five or six 'hundred members. The maxim which asserts, that as soon 'as the general assembly is convened the magistrates are 'divested of all their authority, and that all citizens are equal, 'will ever be subversive of good government, and ultimately 'lead to anarchy.' The author ascribes the sentiments entertained by the citizens, partly to the opulence and ease of some, and in a still greater degree, to the ambition of the many who aspired to power and distinction. Fatio and his adherents called this writing, which had made some impression, a sophistical school declamation. The clergy on the other hand, inveighed bitterly from the pulpit against all abettors of unrestrained liberty. Such writings and such sermons were no doubt far better calculated to irritate, than to conciliate the agitated minds of the people.

The general assembly met on the appointed day. Deputies had, not long before, probably at the desire of the magistrates, arrived from the allied cantons of Zuric and Berne, and appeared at the meeting. At the dawn of day the citizens assembled in the church of St. Magdalen. Piaget mounted on a bench, and exhorted them to firmness and perseverance: 'Remember,' said he, 'that this day will either crown or de-'feat all your past endeavours: do not suffer yourselves to be 'awed at the appearance of your magistrates; they are only 'the first among equals; their pre-eminence vanishes in the 'presence of those who have conferred it: recollect at the 'same time, that order, decency, and moderation are the true 'attributes of the friends of liberty; and that without them, 'you will in vain hope to achieve your purpose.' The citizens embraced, and proceeded quietly to the church of St. Peter.

CHAP. IX.

The senior minister, Calendrini, opened the meeting with a pathetic prayer. The Syndic de Normandie addressed the deputies of the cantons, stating the purpose of this assembly. Ulric, the burgomaster of Zuric, read his answer, in which he extolled the blessings of peace and unanimity, but which by no means accorded with the sentiments of the citizens. Chouet, the second syndic, spoke next: 'It were a crime,' he said, with a great semblance of candour and popularity, 'to 'ask where the sovereignty of this state resides: it manifestly 'centers in this supreme legislative body. Complaints are 'made that it has not been assembled for upwards of a cen- 'tury: the true reason of this is, that no meeting has been 'demanded by the citizens. They might at any time have 'commanded it, and resumed the power they had delegated 'to the magistrates; but of the dangers of this, our fathers 'and ourselves have been too well aware, to hazard so perilous 'a step The great council is the minister, the representa- 'tive of the sovereign: but a thousand years, in cases like 'this, do not establish a prescriptive right; and the annual 'elections of the chief magistrates are a manifest proof that 'the citizens have not relinquished their supreme and inalien- 'able prerogatives.' The prime syndic hereupon proposed the general oath: Piaget insisted on the glaring inconsistency of making a sovereign swear: and a general outcry arose that no oaths should be taken; those who seemed disposed to comply, being severely rebuked, and even insulted by those who peremptorily refused it. The ministers held up their hands. Piaget taxed with treason all those who might offer to take the oath, before a majority had declared in favour of the measure.

Fatio spoke out of his turn, and was called to order by the prime syndic. The counsellors first declared their sentiments on the question. Some were of opinion that the citizens should swear individually, so that it might not appear that the sovereign body had collectively bound itself by an oath: others were for modifying the form. The attorney-general delivered a speech he had previously prepared, which was no ways relevant. The clergy were next heard, and they unanimously insisted on the oath being taken. While the votes were collecting, Fatio expatiated on the impropriety of allowing the deputies of the cantons to be present at this meeting; urging that the precedent would at any time authorize the envoys of France to insist on the same privilege. The prime syndic, with a degree of petulance ill becoming his station, exclaimed: 'If Fatio will be master here, he may e'en take 'my seat.' With this he broke up the assembly, and adjourned it to the following Thursday. The Swiss deputies the next day received a profusion of apologies from the magistrates, clergy, and principal citizens, for the uncourteous manner in which they had been treated the preceding day at the assembly. These apparently extenuated the offence: but yet their reports to their sovereigns were not wholly free from sinister imputations; and it was evident that their prejudices against the citizens were daily increasing.

The first question at the next meeting related to the presence of the deputies. Fatio being the only one who opposed it, some members were sent to conduct them to the church. Each of them delivered a pathetic discourse, stating that their governments had indeed directed them to attend the important meetings that were now to be held, but by no means

CHAP. IX.

without the free consent of the assembly; and they moreover declared, that this instance should on no account be construed into a precedent. The prime syndic upon this reported, that the great council had totally relinquished their proposal of a previous oath, and that a committee had been actually named for deliberating on the question of the ballot. Fatio moved that the ballot should be adopted at the present meeting, in order to prove by experience whether in fact it would be attended with all the inconveniencies that had been urged against it. He was strongly opposed by Dr. Chenaud, who proposed four articles, which he no ways doubted would effectually restore tranquillity: 1. the publication of the edicts; a point which had already been conceded: 2. the voting by ballot: and 3 and 4. two regulations of no great moment, concerning the elections and exclusions in the magistracy. His plan met with general approbation; and it was proposed that the articles should be referred to the examination of the Swiss deputies. 'God forbid!' exclaimed Fatio with vehemence, 'that we should declare ourselves incapable of restor-'ing our own domestic tranquillity.' He reprobated the plan of Chenaud; and the citizens once more allowed themselves to be blindly swayed by their popular leaders. The debate degenerated into tumult, and it was with much difficulty that the syndics found means to adjourn the meeting to the twenty-sixth day of the same month. During this interval, great efforts were made by the friends of peace to restore harmony: but Fatio was inflexible, and determined to pursue his object to its completion. Besides the former claims concerning the ballot, the promulgation of the edicts, and the limitation of the number of kindred in the councils, he now insisted more

particularly on stated and periodical meetings of the general legislative assembly. While he was thus inflaming the minds of some, the enthusiasm of others abated; the friends of government gradually increased, and even the auditor Gallatin, a man, the chief features in whose character appear to have been moderation and candour, espoused the cause of the senate. Fatio however preserved sufficient influence to obtain from the great council a vote for submitting to the general assembly, besides the articles proposed by Chenaud, likewise the establishment of a periodical legislative assembly; a particular mode of voting by delivering the suffrages to four secretaries, to be chosen occasionally by the syndics, two out of the council and two from among the citizens; and that not more than three brethren, or a father and two sons, should be allowed to sit at the same time in the council.

At the general assembly of the twenty-sixth of May, which was likewise attended by the Swiss deputies, the votes were collected in succession, but not without some confusion. To the astonishment of the popular leaders, a majority of fifty rejected the mode of voting by ballot. Fatio ascribed this partly to the tedious speeches of the syndics and deputies, which induced many of the citizens to depart without voting, and partly to many of the voters having been intimidated by significant hints and nods from the secretaries. The question was now proposed, whether the articles should be put to the vote collectively or separately. The former mode appeared to have the approbation of the magistrates, and was perhaps for this very reason opposed by Fatio, Marcet, and de la Chena. The delegates of the citizens at the same time observing that many were withdrawing from the assembly,

CHAP. IX.

called loudly for an adjournment to the next day. The syndics refused to comply, and began to collect the votes; upon which many more citizens absented themselves. About three hundred collected in a remote part of the church, and refused to vote. Dentan, one of the most restless among them, repeatedly exclaimed, 'they have deceived us; they mean to over-'reach us.' The syndic de Normandie went up to Fatio, took him by the hand, and addressing him in a conciliatory tone, 'You may restore peace,' he said; 'persuade these 'seceders to imitate the example of their fellow citizens.' 'I have no right to command them,' answered Fatio abruptly. The votes were numbered: eight hundred against thirty-eight determined in favour of the articles being proposed collectively. The Swiss deputies and the magistrates, conceiving this to be a complete triumph, now congratulated each other on their success; and the former recommended a general amnesty, which the latter declared they were ready to proclaim. Fatio, who had withdrawn, returned to the assembly, and remonstrated in the name of the three hundred who had declined to vote, that the citizens had been deceived by ambiguous propositions; and that even if the votes of the majority were a fair decision, it went no further than that all the articles should be proposed together, and by no means that they were, by this vote, either accepted or negatived. Instead of answering, the magistrates desired him to come to the town-house. The Swiss deputies there represented to him that he ought to conform to the decision of the majority, and that he would have to answer for the consequences, if the concourse of people at the church did not immediately disperse; and they, at the same time declared that the two cantons they represented

would be ready to support the vote of the general assembly. Fatio, perceiving now that he could not at present accomplish his object, admonished the people to separate, and withdrew to his dwelling.

The crowd was actually dispersing, when three companies of city guards appeared, by order of the senate, before the church. The commanding officer having directed all who still remained, to repair immediately to their homes, one of the least timid among them demanded by whose authority he took upon him to give such orders? 'By an authority,' replied the captain, drawing his sword, 'which both you and I 'must obey.' Some citizens, who were armed, likewise drew their swords, and a scuffle ensued: those who had previously departed, ran through the streets and called to arms; and all the shops and warehouses were immediately shut. The populace was now preparing to attack the houses of the Mamelukes: the women, the wife of Fatio at their head, hastened to bring arms to those who had remained behind in the church; the guards meanwhile, whether directed, or awed by the tumult, remaining wholly inactive. Fatio once more exhorted the multitude to disperse, and was the first who retired to his house. Many counsellors and ministers resorted to the public places, explained and justified the proceedings of the magistrates, and admonished the people to preserve the peace. The immediate declaration of an amnesty seemed indeed to have restored tranquillity; but the citizens, it soon appeared, could not so readily forget the unlooked-for appearance of the companies of guards. The party of the senate perceived the rapid progress of their unpopularity. One of the secretaries was taxed with having unduly collected the votes

CHAP. IX.

at the last general assembly: partial tumults arose: the magistrates ordered the military posts to be reinforced; and, under pretence of guarding against external dangers, demanded auxiliaries from the two allied cantons, which were immediately granted. This measure was represented by the senate to the great council, merely as a precautionary step, for the security of the city against foreign insult.

A short interval of tranquillity.

The Swiss mediators departed from Geneva on the third of June. The deputy of Berne, on taking leave of the senate, exhorted them to maintain, by moderation and courteousness, the tranquillity that he trusted was now restored; and to study to gain the affections of the people. 'Men,' he observed, 'seldom notice the faults of those superiors whom they love; 'whereas even the virtues of those, whose persons they dislike, 'are converted into odious blemishes. Remember that fear is 'a feeble check upon a free-minded people: and above all, 'that you have promised us to bury all past offences in obli-'vion.' The delegates of the citizens attended them in the streets, and thanked them for their salutary interference. The deputies declared their approbation of Fatio's conduct in the last stage of the disturbance; and exacted a promise from him to put a stop to the meetings of his party, which they considered as the source of all the evil.

Fresh disturbances

On the very day in which the deputies departed, three hundred Swiss auxiliaries were admitted into the city. From this moment the senate acquired fresh confidence, and exerted an unlooked-for rigour. Unguarded expressions were noticed and chastised; and Fatio, instead of being (as had been preconcerted) induced by gentle means to suspend his attendance at the council, was apprised in an imperious manner, that his

presence would be dispensed with. His friends indeed complained, though faintly, of an infraction of the amnesty; but the greatest number of the citizens seemed better disposed to attend quietly to their respective avocations in their workshops and counting-houses, than to watch the proceedings of government. A sullen tranquillity prevailed throughout the city. One harsh decree was succeeded by another; while the incautious magistrates, indulging in frequent and sumptuous festivals, held out an odious contrast between their luxurious gratifications, and the severities they inflicted on the people. Fatio, Marcet, and their friends, being excluded from these pleasurable entertainments, resolved to have a festive meeting of their own; but they received a mandate, enjoining them to desist from their purpose. The time now approached when, according to ancient custom, certain military sports and exercises were practised at Geneva. Marcet had three years successively merited the rank of King of the Archers; and during the troubles, had biassed all the officers of his corps in favour of the remonstrating citizens. The council, which neglected no means that seemed calculated to strengthen their party, excited all their young men to strive for the chief prize in archery. The son of the ex-syndic Trembley obtained it this year; and a sumptuous feast having been given him on the occasion, he returned it with a banquet far mose splendid than had ever been seen at Geneva. In the intoxication of mirth and conviviality, the dangers of the times were wholly forgotten. Some, foreboding the revengeful spirit of the senate, exhorted Fatio to absent himself; but he spurned the advice, declaring that he would never avow himself guilty by absconding. 'No one,' he added, 'can hate me, but he who

CHAP. IX.

'hates the laws. If the senate aims at my life or my honour, I 'am willing to shew how a citizen ought to bear injustice, and 'to shed his blood in the cause of his country. Perhaps the re-'membrance of my untimely end may prove far more bene-'ficial to my fellow citizens, than the most zealous services I 'might still render them, in a life of ever so long a period.' Some prompted him to make fresh representations to the senate. 'This,' he answered, 'is not the proper time: better 'wait till five years hence, when at the next general assembly 'I may perhaps succeed to the office of attorney general.' The senators trembled when they heard that the popular party were endeavouring to raise him to that eminent station. The leaders of this party now interrogated the magistrates, what could be the motive for introducing Swiss troops into the city? 'No doubt,' said some of them, 'they are here 'rather to intimidate us, than to provide for our safety. Who 'is it that has called them in? certainly not the general as-'sembly, which is alone authorized to take a step of such 'importance.'

quelled by severity.

On a sudden appeared before the senate, Brochet, an inn-keeper, till now of the discontented party, who declared that a dreadful conspiracy was at hand; that a plot was laid for seizing the arsenal, and to get rid of the Swiss auxiliaries, and of several of the counsellors; that Piaget and le Maitre were to head the insurrection, in which he had himself been offered a considerable share. Le Maitre was immediately seized: Piaget absconded; and his wife was in vain called upon to reveal the place of his concealment. Fatio was apprised of his own danger; but far from absenting himself, he appeared publicly, and was taken into custody without any charge

having been exhibited against him. Four articles were found among his papers, which not he, but de la Chena, had drawn up, and intended to lay before the next general assembly. Their tenor was, 1. that in future the council should not call in any foreign troops without the consent of the general assembly: 2. that such troops should never be allowed to act against the citizens: 3. that the proceedings of the great council, which in fact represented the body of the people, should be subjected to a yearly investigation in the general assembly: and 4. that Fatio should be allowed to resume his seat in the said council.

The senate stationed a strong guard at the prison, and ordered continual patroles throughout the city. De la Chena was likewise apprehended. Le Maitre being confronted with his accuser, the latter persisted in his deposition, while the former denied every article, except a few inconsiderate words against the auxiliaries, and his having answered to a certain person, who asked of him whether all was quiet, that the fire still glowed under the embers: these words were construed into a proof of the conspiracy. A reward of three hundred crowns was offered for the head of Piaget; and in order to prevent his escape, members of the council watched day and night at the gates, to see who passed. After he had lain two days concealed in a cellar, his corpse was found in the river, where he had been drowned in attempting to save himself by swimming.

The senate hereupon assembled the great council, and reported all the discoveries they had made concerning the conspiracy, and its several authors. Le Maitre was put to the rack: all who resided near the place of examination were

CHAP. IX.

enjoined to leave their houses, that they might not hear either the depositions or the screams of the devoted culprit. All that the most excruciating torments could extort from him was, 'Treat me as you please: I have no accomplices, 'for I am innocent.' His wife, his aged and disconsolate mother, and his little children implored for mercy; but he was doomed to die, and heard the awful sentence without either terror or compunction. His wife, and some of his friends, entreated him to appeal to the general assembly; but he scorned the expedient. Unknown to him, they presented a petition, in which, without pretending to deny his guilt, they remonstrated that he had been convicted upon the evidence of one single witness; of a man whom, seven years before, the senate had sentenced to death, and who would have suffered had he not been pardoned by the great council; of one who was the declared enemy of the accused, and had been often heard to utter threats of vengeance against him. To the minister who attended him, he said, with a calm countenance, 'Whatever 'disturbances I may have promoted before the amnesty, they 'may truly be imputed to genuine patriotism. I never aspired 'to honours or offices, for which I knew myself by no means 'qualified. The plots that are laid to my charge, required 'money, talents, eloquence, and influence, none of which had 'fallen to my share. I fall a victim to state policy.' He acknowledged that the loss of a law-suit had sowered his temper. At the town-house he heard his final sentence on his knees with great composure, until mention was made of the conspiracy. He then exclaimed, 'That is false; and my 'accuser is an infamous calumniator.' At the fatal tree he once more asserted his innocence; and whilst the executioner

was strangling him, the people uttered loud cries and deep groans of anguish and commiseration.

De la Chena was next brought before the senate; and with terror and confusion approached the awful tribunal. He was charged with having been the first author of the disturbances; that by means of the four articles found among Fatio's papers, he had intended to raise fresh insurrections; that he had uttered opprobrious language against the magistrates and the clergy; and that by these, and other treasonable practices he had amply deserved capital punishment. In consideration of his pusillanimity, his life was spared; but he was sentenced to forfeit the freedom of the city, to be banished for life, and to pay all costs. De la Chena, bathed in tears, acknowledged that his delinquency exceeded his punishment; and prayed that he might suffer death, since he could not possibly live separated from his beloved family and intimates: but his prayer was disregarded. He repaired to Morges, where he survived twelve years in a small municipal office. Piaget was hanged in effigy.

When Fatio heard of these proceedings, he foreboded his own destiny. As no accuser appeared against him, he apprehended that poison would be the means of dispatching him; and hence abstained from all food, except eggs. His conduct in the last insurrection was brought as a charge against him: he was reminded of instances when he had arraigned the decrees of the general assembly: he was taxed with having illegally assembled the citizens, and having four articles in his possession, the tendencies of which were evidently seditious. He answered, that as often as he heard of a tumult, he always

CHAP. IX.

hastened among the insurgents in order to disperse them; and that, in fact, he had frequently succeeded to quell disturbances: that he had indeed often conversed on state affairs; and that he knew no subject more befitting the deliberation of good citizens: that he had never convened assemblies, but occasionally visited his friends; and that as to the four articles, they had been given him for his opinion, and that he disapproved of them. His defence availed not: he was sentenced to lose his head. He likewise would deliver in no petition: 'Death,' he said, 'is infinitely preferable to ignominy; and 'he deserves ignominy who, being innocent, condescends to 'ask for mercy.' His brother, a counsellor, declared that he acknowledged the guilt of the sentenced culprit; but that the punishment would reflect infamy upon all his kindred; and that he himself would be compelled to lay down his offices, if his brother suffered by the hand of a public executioner. The council extended their lenity so far as to order that Fatio should be shot, and thus die by the hands of soldiers; that his sentence should be announced to him in prison; that the bell should not toll as usual at executions; that the wands of the syndics should be sent privately to the prison; and that the ministers should go thither disguised in secular dresses. When he was told that he had but a few minutes to live, he started, but soon recovered his serenity: 'I may have been guilty of some 'indiscretions,' he said, 'but surely not of any crime. I am 'persuaded that I have rendered some service to my country: 'I can with satisfaction survey my past life; and shall meet 'death with resignation.' On hearing his sentence pronounced, he opened a Bible, and read to his judges the first

verse of the fifty-eighth psalm.* On descending to the court where the sentence was to be executed, some offered to assist him, but he declined their aid, saying, 'I am in health and 'vigour, and can walk alone.' Without the least emotion he tied up his eyes, and pointed to the soldiers where to direct their muskets. He prayed, and uttered these last words; 'I 'am innocent, and they take away my life: Almighty God, 'grant me the power to forgive them.' The only fault his friends imputed to him, was too great a fondness for argumentation; and a vindictive spirit was the greatest blemish the most inveterate of his enemies could add to that defect.

Many other severe penalties were, during this and the following year, inflicted on various citizens. After the hearts of most of them had been sufficiently alienated, and nothing but the terror of the late executions restrained their fierce resentment, the magistrates ordained an extraordinary fast day, in which the clergy did not fail to extol the justice of the government, and the salutary effects of their seasonable firmness. 1708.
The auxiliaries were soon after dismissed; but the companies of the city guards were augmented each to ninety men.

The time approached now when, as had been decreed five 1712.
years before, the periodical general assembly was to meet for the first time. The citizens were actually convened on the tenth of December: but a majority immediately repealed the very edict by virtue of which they had been called together; and thus destroyed in an instant, the very basis of the structure which had been reared by Fatio, and to which he had sacrificed his life. Numbers of the people were penetrated

* 'Are your minds set upon righteousness, O ye congregation: and do ye judge the things that are right, O ye sons of men?'

CHAP. IX.

with sorrow and disdain; but the party of the magistrates publicly and loudly exulted in this happy deliverance from the trammels of a superintending authority.

To have entered thus minutely into the origin, progress, and fatal termination of the above disturbances, will scarcely be deemed superfluous, if we reflect that from these beginnings arose all the troubles that have distracted this unhappy city for near a century, and impelled it, at length, to its utter ruin. From this circumstantial detail we learn to appreciate the pernicious effects of the restless disposition of the people, which repeatedly called forth coercive, and no doubt often unjustifiable measures, on the part of the magistrates; thus by a circular operation of reciprocal causes, producing evils which a few wise and moderate citizens deeply lamented, but could not remedy. From a near contemplation of these troubles, and an investigation of the stimulating causes that excited them, we may in a great measure prognosticate the subsequent struggles which could not but be produced by such jarring elements: and the writer may hence proceed in his narrative, without dwelling on the nicer shades, which distinguish the characters of the future agents, and the temper of the times.[7]

[7] An intelligent and candid observer, who is thoroughly acquainted with the late revolutions of Geneva, and who has bestowed a perusal upon these pages before they went to press, has favoured the author with the following remarks, which, as they place the motives that excited these troubles in a somewhat different light, will, it is hoped, not be unacceptable to the readers, whose main object is to arrive at truth. 'The statement here given,' he says, 'is manifestly drawn from the writers of the 'popular party. The government of Geneva was no doubt in many instances excep-'tionable in point of conduct, nor were its sentences always strictly equitable; but the 'culprits, on the other hand, were far from being so innocent as has been represented. 'The project of periodical assemblies, and of referring all the acts of the executive

CHAP. IX.

2. Troubles appeased in 1734.

The magistrates of Geneva having now, though not altogether broken, yet considerably loosened the bonds that restrained their power, boldly attempted a measure, which, if carried, they hoped would at once establish their authority on a solid and permanent foundation. Two years after its last triumph, the senate, prompted by the persuasions of the young officers who periodically returned from France, where Vauban, and other eminent engineers, had brought the science of fortification into the greatest repute, determined to make considerable additions to the works round the city; and in order to raise the fund necessary for that purpose, resolved to impose a tax on the citizens, which was annually to yield the sum of ten thousand crowns; and moreover, to borrow from them two hundred and seventy thousand crowns, for which they offered to pay an interest of three per cent. The attempt was premature: the citizens took the alarm; many expatiated 1714.

'body to the perpetual revision of the general assembly, was a fundamental innovation, 'foreign to our laws and to our established usages. Its tendency was wholly to subvert 'the mixed form of our government, and to convert it into a pure democracy. The 'general assembly would thereby soon have been degraded into an ordinary council 'of administration: anarchical innovations would have succeeded each other in a 'rapid progression: and hence the promoters of this plan can only be considered as 'factious disturbers of an established government. They bequeathed their disorganizing ideas to all the demagogues who took the lead in the subsequent troubles. 'Micheli du Crest (the philosopher) seized on them with eagerness; and he, with 'numbers of other popular leaders, have ever since incessantly laboured to establish 'these general assemblies of revision, of censure, of legislation, of motions; the introduction of which had been first suggested by Fatio and his colleagues; and of which 'the popular party never lost sight during eighty years of incessant commotions, in 'which the senate, awed by the audacity of the innovators, threw itself into the opposite extreme, and attempted to counteract their efforts by an extension of its own 'prerogatives.'

CHAP. IX.

against the encroachment upon the privilege of the general and sovereign assembly, which, they said, in constituting subordinate authorities, had never divested itself of the right of taxation. After these murmurs had lasted some years, two anonymous
1718. letters appeared, in which the magistrates were publicly charged with flagrant designs of undermining the constitution. These were immediately declared seditious; and their distribution was strictly prohibited.

Micheli du Crest.

One of the principal abettors of these new troubles was Micheli du Crest; a man descended from a noble Genevese family, who, after the death of his father, had been involved in a vexatious law-suit concerning his inheritance, in which he was cast. Enraged at what he deemed an iniquitous sentence, he, without complying with the decree of the tribunal, repaired to his company in the French service; and thence,
1719. in the course of the next year, sent in a writing to the military commission at Geneva, in which he severely censured the newly adopted plan of fortification. Notwithstanding this avowed opposition, he was in the same year elected into the great council. Here he reprobated that plan with uncommon asperity; and soon after, once more forsook his native city.
1728. In a paper he published at Strasburg, he criticised every part of the plan, which was now advancing in its execution; and unequivocally taxed the inspector of the works with gross ignorance, and corrupt profusion.

1729. On the sixth of January of the ensuing year, the senate ordered, 'that du Crest should make a public recantation, and 'deliver in all his seditious writings:' but he, spurning the decree, published a vindication, which he dedicated to the
1730. Duke du Maine. On the thirtieth of May, in the succeeding

year, he was expelled the great council, deprived of the freedom of the city, and condemned to forfeit the whole of his property. In the next month of October he became acquainted at Franckfort with two of his countrymen, named Lenieps and Joly, whom, both in conversation and writing, he excited against the magistracy: he persuaded them that the supreme power resided solely in the citizens; that all sentences and decrees ought to be confirmed by them; and maintained other similar opinions highly palatable to the lower classes of men. This correspondence was betrayed; and on the succeeding eighth of June, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. This decree greatly added to his inveteracy. 1731.

His party at Geneva became gradually so formidable, that in order to obviate greater disorders, the council found it necessary to commute the tax imposed for carrying on the fortifications into a voluntary contribution. Notwithstanding this mitigation, the citizens often met in consultation; and eight hundred of them came to the attorney-general, with a petition, in which they remonstrated against all taxes hitherto levied; animadverted upon certain decisions of the senate, which they deemed partial; and prayed for an immediate convocation of the general assembly. The senate maintained, that according to the records, and especially a formal edict of the preceding century,[s] all contested points were left to the decision of the council. The citizens, far from acquiescing in this, became more clamorous, and threw out some menaces. The council assembled on the seventh of June: on the twenty-third the citizens delivered to the syndics and the attorney-general a declaration, in which they protested, that they by no 1734.

[s] Of the year 1570.

CHAP. IX.

means wished or demanded any change in the form of government, but that they merely desired some explanation concerning the taxes, and the fortifications. The council, without giving a decided answer, broke up much earlier than usual, for the summer vacation.

Meanwhile a report being spread that troops were arriving from Berne to protect the magistracy, the citizens continued to hold frequent meetings, and shewed great signs of disaffection. On the twenty-ninth of June they once more made a formal requisition for a general assembly. Two auditors were sent to divert them from their purpose; but to no effect: they rioted all night throughout the city; and seemed disposed to proceed to acts of violence. The syndics, and several of the counsellors, repaired to the town-house. Lest the citizens should seize on the cannon belonging to the city, the syndic Trembley ordered two-and-twenty of them to be spiked with wooden pegs. The citizens, enraged at this mark of distrust, demanded, on the fourth of July, that the custody of the principal posts in the city should be committed to their care. This being granted, a few of the insurgents led out, and planted four pieces of ordnance, at the gate at which they had been informed a body of Swiss troops was to be admitted; and the report of the approach of these auxiliaries having been industriously propagated, all the citizens armed, and took possession of all the city gates and out-posts.

On the eighth of July, the council summoned a meeting of the citizens, and proposed the questions, whether the fortifications should be continued? and, if approved, whether they would consent to some further imposts for that purpose? To the astonishment of many, who thought so rapid a return to

moderation an event rather to be wished than expected, both points were unanimously agreed to; whereupon, in order to promote this manifestation of perfect concord, the council proclaimed a general amnesty.

Fresh deputies from Berne and Zuric, who had been invited by the magistrates, appeared on the eighteenth of July; but were assured, both by the council and the citizens, that perfect tranquillity had been restored, and that the custody of the city was again surrendered to the garrison. Some of the counsellors however, were still suspected of harbouring designs inimical to the liberties of the people; nor could the citizens brook the reproach cast upon them by the spiking of the cannon. By this, and other unpopular acts, the syndic Trembley had rendered himself particularly obnoxious: some attempts were made on his person, and a number of citizens one evening prevented the keys of the city gates from being taken to his house. This, and other untoward incidents, induced him to offer the resignation of his office of syndic of the guard, which however the senate refused to accept.

Conceiving that all dangers were at an end, the deputies of the cantons now left the city. From this moment every expedient was contrived for keeping Trembley (who had repaired to a country house) from returning into the town; and another plot against the privileges of the people, was now laid to his charge. The senate released the garrison from the oath they had taken to him; and ordered them to swear obedience to the prime syndic. On the twenty-fourth of October, the citizens, after church service, assembled at the usual place of meeting; and here assented to a paper to be delivered to the syndics, in which they demanded explicit answers to the three

CHAP. IX.

following points: 1. The motive for barricading the upper part of the city, where the magistrates chiefly resided; for which quantities of timber had already been collected? 2. the real purpose of an order which Trembley had given to the garrison, and which appeared to strike at the security of the citizens, and the fundamental laws of the state? and 3. the reason why great numbers of loaded muskets were kept in readiness at the arsenal, and other hostile preparations were carried on with uncommon activity? The administration of the penal laws being committed to the senate, the citizens urged that body to take immediate cognizance of these delinquencies, and to inflict condign punishment upon the perpetrators. On the Friday following the senate declared, with only two dissentient voices, that Trembley's project had been planned with the knowledge and approbation of the government; that by virtue of the amnesty of the sixth of August, no further investigation on the subject could now take place; and that the charges therefore required no answers. This declaration was soon after confirmed by the great council; but this body was not equally unanimous as to the reply to be made to the citizens. The matter was referred to a committee consisting of five senators, eight counsellors, the senior pastors, and thirty-four deputies of the citizens.

A report having been spread that fresh deputies were coming from the cantons, the citizens mounted cannons upon the ramparts, and assembled in companies. On the fifth of December it was resolved in a secret committee of the citizens, that eleven of the senators should be deposed; and on the same evening they declared this resolution to the thirty-four deputies, who after debating till past midnight, at last decided

by ballot, that five of the senators, and the auditor de Carro, should be dismissed; and that the syndic Trembley should be banished. On the sixth the citizens met in companies: many opposed the resolutions of the preceding night, but they were laughed to scorn. The framers of them acknowledged that they were severe, but at the same time insisted that they were indispensably necessary. 'Either,' said they, 'we must 'destroy others, or they will destroy us.' In this state of tumult and confusion, the majority proceeded towards the town-house. Many of the counsellors were in doubt what measures to pursue: they assembled, and the thirty-four delegates demanded admission. The council being informed that the town-house was completely invested by the citizens, deputed the syndics to hold a conference with them. These having reported the demands of the citizens, Trembley, Chapeau-rouge, and Tronchin, three of the accused counsellors who were present at the meeting, declared that they were ready to sacrifice their offices to the public tranquillity; while the friends and relations of those who were absent protested against all proceedings, until the parties had been heard in their own defence. The usual preparatory steps were taken towards a criminal process; but meanwhile the citizens would suffer no one to depart, and about noon the whole city was in arms.

The council now put three propositions successively to the vote. 1. That no positive answer be given to the citizens: 2. that a general assembly be summoned for the following week: and 3. that the members accused, as well the three present, as those who were absent, should vacate their seats both in the senate and council. After much debate and altercation, the last measure was at length adopted at the re-

CHAP. IX.

quest of the members under accusation; and the council moreover declared that Trembley's plan of fortification had been irregularly introduced. The syndics reported this decree to the deputies of the citizens; but these did by no means express themselves fully satisfied, and still insisted that all the demands of the citizens should be complied with unconditionally. Flushed with success, they appeared again before the council, on the twelfth of December, with additional articles, among which the following were the principal: 1. That a general assembly be convened; that all that had been decreed since the second of March, be there solemnly confirmed; and that a general amnesty be thereupon declared: 2. that during the holding of the general assembly, the custody of the principal church, and the great place, be committed to a company of citizens; and 3. that the code of laws, which had been long demanded, be forthwith published. These articles were a few days after accepted without hesitation, at a council, which indeed was not attended by half its members. On the twentieth, the general assembly confirmed all the regulations hitherto made: and the citizens surrendered the different posts to the garrison: reserving the right to assemble in companies without the permission of the council, and to appoint committees whenever they should see fit. Although the deposed counsellors, and the exiled Trembley, still retained a number of adherents, as well in this as in the neighbouring governments, yet no effectual steps were taken in their behalf; and the magistrates even found themselves compelled to censure, as highly reprehensible, a memorial which Trembley transmitted to them in justification of his conduct.

Momentary triumph of the Democracy.

CHAP. IX.

3 Fresh dissensions terminated in 1738.

Micheli du Crest, meanwhile, composed at Chene,[9] his present place of refuge, several memorials, petitions, and remonstrances, of which, in the following year, many hundreds of copies were distributed at Geneva. These various seeds of discord generated three different parties, among which that of the council gradually obtained the superiority; and, on the eighth of December, du Crest was declared an enemy to the state. His principal remonstrance, which he entitled *Placet de recours*, was burnt by the public executioner; and his effigy was affixed to the gallows. This order, which it was asserted ought to have been submitted to the ultimate decision of the citizens, increased the public clamours; and du Crest, availing himself of the distraction that prevailed in the city, offered to appear in person before the general assembly in his own vindication; but the senate frustrated his design, and he once more withdrew to Paris. Three young citizens, who had engaged to introduce him into the city, were apprehended. One of them, not being able to find an advocate among the citizens, had recourse to a stranger. This being forbidden by the senate, the citizens raised a general outcry, alleging that this prohibition was a manifest violation of one of the fundamental laws of the republic. They debated the point in one of their assemblies: the syndics offered to dissolve the assembly; but to this attempt all the citizens, however divided in other respects, opposed their united efforts. In order to prevent greater disturbances, the three youths freely waved the privilege acknowledged by the law; and the greatest lenity was hereupon shewn them in the sentences that were pronounced against them.

1735.

1736.

[9] A village on the confines of Savoy.

CHAP. IX.

This indulgence irritated the friends of the expelled counsellors, at the head of whom was the Count de Montreal, a rich and enterprising citizen, and once a great favourer of the popular party, one of his dependents having been convicted of giving pecuniary rewards to the citizens for their political signatures. The British resident, Count de Marsay, likewise took the part of the deposed counsellors, and used all means to gain over the cantons. The party of the council, or as it was now called of the *tamponneurs*,[10] daily gained ground. The minds of men were so irritated that the least private dispute, the instant soldiers interfered, became an object of public contention. Montreal took possession of the arsenal; and the citizens, on the other hand, once more invested the town-house. The syndics endeavoured to moderate their fury, but could not prevent some effusion of blood. The tamponneurs had the garrison on their side. The popular party, who had not yet forgotten the executions of Fatio and le Maitre, and the frequent attempts their rulers had made upon the rights they esteemed sacred, broke out into open violence so
1737. early as the third year after their late unavailing triumph. Its leaders, on the twenty-first of August, having taken umbrage at a sentence the magistrates had pronounced against one of their number, which they deemed injurious, once more called the citizens to arms in defence, as they alleged, of oppressed innocence. The friends of the magistrates armed likewise, and encounters took place in which some lives were lost. The citizens once more took possession of the gates and guard-houses, and seized the person of the first syndic. The French resident, de la Closure, interfered, and brought about a temporary

[10] Cannon Spikers.

amnesty, during which the chief of the tamponneurs, and many of the peaceful inhabitants, withdrew out of the city, together with their families. No hopes of accommodation, it was now manifest, could be entertained, but through the interference of the mediating powers: and accordingly the deputies of Berne and Zurich soon after appeared; and letters came from France, severely censuring the conduct of the citizens, and at the same time offering its friendly offices towards a compromise. Circumstanced as they were, the citizens placed little confidence in the plausible professions of the guarantees: they insisted that they were competent to restore tranquillity without the interference of other powers, and urgently demanded a convocation of the general assembly. Although this was for some time strenuously opposed by the mediators, it was yet at length conceded; and the assembly met on the twenty-sixth of September, where, with a fickleness of which few examples can be cited, a great majority voted in favour of the mediation.

Fortunately for Geneva, the Cardinal de Fleury had the welfare of the republic sincerely at heart. He named the Count de Lautrec to conduct the negotiation, and instructed him to use his best endeavours, to put a final stop to the unhappy dissensions which had so long preyed upon its vitals. The citizens chose thirty-four delegates to confer with him on the subject; and to these were joined the deputies of the allied cantons. After a careful inspection of all the documents that were exhibited by both parties, and much debate and admonition, an agreement was at length framed, which was formally accepted and ratified on the eighth day of May, and was 1738. considered as the future basis of the Genevan constitution. Its

CHAP. IX.

chief object was to define accurately the powers vested in the senate and council, and those reserved to the general assembly, which latter, in fact, extended to all acts of the sovereign authority. The article which met with most opposition on the part of the citizens, was the reinstatement of the magistrates who had been deposed on the former pacification; but the difficulty soon vanished before the powerful interposition of the mediators. In addition to various regulations, most of which had been before extant, it was enacted that this agreement should be liable to no alteration without the consent of the general assembly, duly convened by the senate and council; and what is of far greater consequence, that no one should dare to take up arms without the consent and express order of the magistracy. To the forty-four articles of which this memorable edict consisted, was added the declaration of the guarantee of the mediating powers; a fatal blow no doubt to the independence of the republic, since it authorized at all times the interference of preponderating neighbours.

Du Crest had used all his endeavours at Paris to be comprized in the amnesty granted on this occasion; but as he could not be brought to acknowledge any delinquency, but peremptorily insisted on the justice that was due to him, no attention was paid to his importunities. It became now impossible for him to control his restless temper: he came into Swisserland; but both Zuric and Berne refused to admit him.

1744. At the request of the government of Geneva, he was at length confined in the hospital of Berne. Although he was here deprived of writing materials, he nevertheless found means to cause a petition to be laid before the senate of Berne, and ob-

tained a mitigation of his confinement. With water and the snuff of a candle he prepared ink; his pen was an iron pin he had loosened from the bars in the window. Being suffered to receive visitors, he involved himself in the conspiracy which soon after broke out against the government of Berne. He was hereupon removed to the castle of Arburg, where he lived to a very advanced age. He beguiled the tediousness of his confinement by the study of natural philosophy and geometry. His thermometers have been long used. Besides many political writings, he published also a treatise on the barometer and thermometer, physical researches, a tract on the deluge, and various other *opuscula*. 1749.

4. Henzi's conspiracy at Berne.

Although the conspiracy that broke out about this time at Berne does not precisely come within the general denomination assigned to this section, yet as it was in some measure fomented by one of the ringleaders of the troubles of Geneva, and was probably an emanation of the restless spirit that had for some time agitated that distracted city; and as the rest of Swisserland, in its state of profound tranquillity, offers, within this period, no other incident worthy of the notice of the historian; it will perhaps not be deemed altogether foreign to the subject of the present chapter, to enter into a succinct narrative of the origin and termination of that bold attempt on the peaceful government of a prosperous and flourishing state.

Berne being at peace with all its neighbours, afforded scarcely any opportunities of exertion to the aspiring and turbulent spirits within its bosom, who in every state are ever ready to avail themselves of the most trivial incidents in order to create disturbances. The government made a strict and salutary law (1744.) to prevent the seats in the council being disposed of for pe-

CHAP. IX.

cuniary considerations. A libel appeared against one of the counsellors, who had strenuously opposed this edict, which the magistrates ordered to be burnt by the common hangman: but regardless of this public censure, another lampoon, of a much more sarcastic nature, was in the succeeding night stuck up against the town-house. Meanwhile the time approached for filling up the vacant seats in the council; but on account of the variety of opinions that prevailed, the solemnity was postponed to another year. Some of the burghers delivered to the council a petition, in which they demanded the right of representation, and various reforms in the mode of electing into the council. This petition had already been signed by four and twenty citizens, when the senate was apprized of it, and immediately reported it to the council. The subscribers were all seized; some were banished out of the territories of the confederacy for ten years, some out of the canton of Berne for five years, and others were sentenced to a confinement of six months in their own houses. Among the former were Sinner, Wyss, and Koenig; and among the latter Henzi and Samuel Koenig the younger, two men of superior talents, but not equally moderate in their projects. Henzi had commanded a company in the Duke of Modena's service, which had been reduced; and he was now engaged in the banking trade. Amid the dust of his counting-house he read the Greek and Roman classics; and it was he who familiarized the younger Koenig with the genius of Homer. The latter found relaxation in the beauties of poetry from the intense study of algebra. He published several tracts, both in verse and prose, some of which gave much offence. The political soon followed upon the literary delinquency; and notwithstanding the

interposition of several powerful protectors in the council, he and his brother Daniel, likewise an able mathematician, were driven into exile. Daniel died soon after, and Samuel became a professor in the university of Franeker. Captain Henzi passed the five years of his banishment at Neuchattel: he wrote rhimes, odes, epigrams, *Misodemus*, and the *Méssagerie du Pinde*. After his return to his native city, his enthusiasm urged him irresistibly to share in a conspiracy, the object of which was, to revive the ancient municipal immunities; to remove the magistracy, and to appoint a new one in a general assembly of the burghers; to dismiss the seizeniers, and to elect for the future the magistrates in the tribes, in the same manner as was practised at Zuric and Basle; and lastly to appoint a dictator for the execution of this project. The conspirators agreed moreover to seize the arsenal; to carry about them secret weapons; to put to death all those who should refuse to join in the attempt; in case of any troops approaching to protect the magistrates, to blow up their houses; and that this project should be carried into execution on the next thirteenth day of July. 1749.

The plot, long before it was ripe, was betrayed to the government by an ecclesiastic. Henzi, who, being less sanguine than the rest, and doubting the success of the enterprize, had absented himself from the city, was overtaken, brought back, and committed to close confinement: many of the principal conspirators were likewise seized; a few escaped; and only one of them, Emanuel Feuter, offered resistance. An advocate was, according to the established custom, appointed to defend their cause. Watteville de Landshut pleaded in favour of Henzi and two others. His extenuation of the of-

CHAP. IX.

fence, his manner of accounting for the rashness of the culprits, his appeal to the commiseration of the judges, and fervent prayer for a mitigation of the punishment, or at least to moderate the tortures of the rack, exhibited a piece of energetic eloquence, on which authors, seemingly with great justice, have bestowed the highest encomiums.—'Surely,' he concluded his pathetic pleading, 'the speedy, sincere and volun-'tary confession of the prisoners must excite your compas-'sion. Justice, no doubt, demands their punishment; but 'your charity will exempt them from excruciating torments: 'all the world will applaud such lenity; and they will them-'selves with their last breath extol your generous forbearance. 'A great part of the chastisement they already experience, is 'their bitter contrition for having offended so humane a ma-'gistracy. At this moment they are prostrate on the ground, 'and cry aloud, "O God forgive us!" They implore your 'compassion, not for their lives, but for an easy death. They 'recommend to you their wretched wives and helpless in-'fants; these are guiltless: be you the parent of the widow 'and the orphan, as you are the fathers of the people. These 'disconsolate families crave that they may be allowed to be-'stow christian burial on the remains of their unhappy rela-'tives. May the Almighty bless your administration! may 'it ever be buried in oblivion, that within these walls citizens 'rebelled against their parental government!—Display your 'magnanimity, my lords, by an act of clemency. Mercy on 'the guilty criminals! mercy on their innocent relicts and 'progeny! once more and for the last time, mercy! oh, 'mercy!'

On the sixteenth of July, sentence of death was passed on

the three heads of the conspiracy." Henzi met his fate with uncommon fortitude. Six accomplices were soon after banished out of the territories of the confederacy: three who had fled were ordered, in case they returned, to be executed; and meanwhile their effigies were affixed to the gallows. The widow of Henzi, with her two sons, embarked on the river: on stepping out of the boat at the confines of the Helvetic territories, she said to those around her, 'here are my 'two sons, on whom I dote: were I not certain that they 'will one day revenge the death of their father, I would drown 'them this instant in the river.' One of these sons obtained, by means of professor Koenig, the friend of his father, a commission in the Dutch guards: the manner in which he executed the vengeance enjoined him by his mother, was by continually aiding his countrymen, who stood in need of his assistance. Some years after the conspiracy, many of the exiles obtained their unconditional pardon."

[11] Meiners. t. i. p. 332, names the three convicts who suffered, Henzi, Emanuel Fueter, and Wernier; but the principal conspirators, he asserts, were Kuhn, a tanner, Dan. Fueter, a silversmith, and Gabriel Fueter, a merchant. The last he says, was the chief conductor of the plot. The same author laments the fate of Henzi, whom he represents as a man of abilities and character, but who had taken offence at being refused the office of librarian to the republic. D. and G. Fueter he adds were after some years exile, pardoned; and when he wrote his account, were living peaceably at Berne.

[12] The candid observer above quoted, (p. 328. n. 7) in whom the writer of this narrative is inclined to place much confidence, has been pleased to add the following circumstances to those contained in the text. 'Meiners has omitted to mention the well 'attested fact, that the peasants of the neighbourhood of Berne, as soon as they heard 'of the conspiracy, came in crowds, and armed, to the gates of the city, in support of 'the government: that it was with much difficulty the magistrates succeeded to ap-'pease them; and that they did not disperse, till they were promised that speedy and 'exemplary punishment should be inflicted on the delinquents. Among Fueter's 'papers was found a list of the members of the government who were to be assassinated.

CHAP. IX.

5. Troubles at Geneva appeased in 1768.

The practice of assembling the citizens of Geneva according to their military distribution into companies, and of these companies chusing delegates for conducting their joint concerns, had during the late troubles become prevalent; and had now given to the popular party much consistency and influence. Hence the danger of maintaining within the republic an armed and ever active democracy, which would inevitably break out in incessant commotions, having become equally obvious and alarming, a clause was inserted in the last edict, which strictly prohibited such dangerous assemblies. Soon after however, the necessity of communication, and of friendly intercourse, introduced the establishment of clubs, in which political discussions became still more frequent; and by an easy correspondence between them, facilitated the propagation of democratic principles. This gave still greater energy to the spirit of liberty, or as the magistrates perhaps more properly called it, of insubordination; which had it become necessary to curb it, would evidently have yielded to nothing short of arbitrary and irresistible authority.

The invidiousness of being the first aggressors, had for a time repressed the ardour of the most violent agitators, who now again strove to inflame the minds of the people. The Spanish troops moreover, which had now taken possession of Savoy, engrossed for a while the attention of the Genevese, and turned away their minds from their own political concerns. Soon after, the city had the satisfaction of seeing all its former contests with the house of Savoy completely termi-

1754.

'Henzi was an enthusiast, whose extravagance bordered upon madness. Du Crest 'perhaps had not so great a share in the plot as has been represented: he may have 'instigated a few; but his means were greatly circumscribed.'

nated by a treaty, which accurately determined the boundaries, and in which the court of Turin solemnly renounced all claim to the Vidamy, and acknowledged Geneva as a free, sovereign, and independent republic. A treaty of demarcation was likewise concluded with France: the state was liquidating and paying off the moderate debts it had contracted; and all things seemed at this period to co-operate towards its prosperity. Hopes were entertained that the two last edicts had finally settled the constitution on so solid a basis, as to preclude all future doubts and contentions: but the increase of wealth, which successful industry had gradually accumulated among the inhabitants, necessarily gave a bias to their morals, and kept alive a spirit of competition, which could not suffer this republic to enjoy many years of tranquillity.

The demagogues soon had an opportunity offered them, of arraigning the conduct of the magistrates, in consequence of a sentence issued by the council against two works of J. J. Rousseau; his *Emile*, in which passages were found derogatory to the christian religion; and his *Contrat Social*, in which the most unlimited democracy meets with a warm encomium. The council at the same time determined that if Rousseau, who had then fled from Paris on account of these very publications, should come to Geneva, his person should be seized, and brought before the magistrates to be dealt with as should to them seem proper. Rousseau being apprized of this decree, retired into the mountains of Neuchattel, whence he corresponded with his friends at Geneva, who presented a memorial in his favour, complaining, not so much of the censure upon the two works, which had been condemned in France, all over Swisserland, and in several other countries, as of the informality of the 1762.

CHAP. IX.

decree. The answer of the magistrates not being satisfactory, the number of the discontented increased, and they made fresh remonstrances. A profusion of statements, answers, rejoinders, and other publications, soon converted this private dispute into a public contest; the popular party insisting that the case ought to be referred to the general assembly. This led to a discussion of the important question, whether the senate or council had the right of withholding from the general assembly, by a simple negative, any proposal or remonstrance of which the citizens might demand the discussion. The debates were endless: and many powerful arguments were adduced in favour of both sides of the question. It may be conceived how earnest each disputant was in support of his opinion, since this discussion gave rise to two virulent parties, which, completely waving the original subject of the contest, for many years after divided the city, under the name of the *negatifs*, being the magistrates and their partizans, who maintained a right in the senate and council of suppressing the representations of the citizens, instead of laying them before the general assembly; and of the *representans*, or the popular party, which strenuously contended against this right.

It seemed now, as if these two factions had resolved to weary each other with remonstrances and refusals. Among the multitude of fugitive pieces, appeared the 'Letters from the Country,'
1765. ascribed to the attorney-general Tronchin, which were immediately answered by the 'Letters from the Mountain,' in which Rousseau combated with great vehemence, and his usual glow of eloquence, the arguments in favour of the negative right, and inflamed the minds of his abettors with indignation and resentment. Thus exasperated, the greater number

resolved to reject the candidates offered for the syndicature of the ensuing year. No election being made, the former syndics were by the senate continued in office. This became a new, and an important object of contention. The interference of the mediators was again demanded by the magistrates, and their plenipotentiaries arrived without delay. The citizens were called upon to elect in their clubs, four and twenty deputies, to assist at the deliberations, and urge their claims. While the conferences were carrying on, the magistrates obtained from the mediators a declaration approving their conduct in the late contest. The citizens took offence at this premature decision. A plan of a reconciliation was presented to the general assembly on the fifteenth of December; but the citizens thought themselves too disdainfully treated to acquiesce in what was demanded of them. The plan was rejected by a great majority of votes. 1766.

The mediating powers immediately recalled their deputies. The French court, pretending to be highly offended at the obstinancy of the representants, sent troops to form a cordon on the frontiers, and prohibited all intercourse with the Genevese of the popular party: and even the communication with the cantons, was restricted by the formality of passports. The plenipotentiaries having been ordered to re-assemble at Soleure, declared that the magistrates of Geneva were under the immediate protection of their respective sovereigns, and digested a plan of accommodation, which they proposed to the magistrates and the citizens.[13] It was received with cool

[13] This plan, under the name of the *prononcé*, became the subject of much investigation and debate. It appears to have been, not a new project, but an explanatory

CHAP. IX.

indifference: the representants convinced that the mediating powers would content themselves with a mere display of apparent censure and empty menaces, became the more united and firmly tenacious of the principles they had adopted; and actually terrified the senate with threats of a most alarming nature. They seemed to have felt what Rousseau afterwards expressed to one of their leaders, 'that those who know how to die, will ever be free!' Without pretending to decide between the two contending parties, it must be acknowledged that on this occasion, harassed at home, and surrounded by dangers from abroad, the citizens displayed a firmness worthy of a high-minded and generous people. The prospect of impending calamities of a most disastrous nature, induced the aristocratic party to yield; and without the interference of the guarantees, a pacification was agreed upon, which proved highly satisfactory to the citizens, as it placed the magistrates entirely in their dependance. This important act of reconciliation was accepted and confirmed in the general assembly
1768. on the eleventh of March, and forms another memorable epoch in the history of this convulsive state. By this agreement the general assembly, waving the absolute power they had claimed of refusing to elect into the magistracy whenever they thought themselves aggrieved, obtained the right of naming one half of the members of the great council, and of displacing annually when they saw cause, four members of the senate, who after a second exclusion were no longer eligible into that body. This latter privilege was named the right of *re-election*, and

decision of the points in contest, framed by virtue of the act of guaranty annexed to the pacification of the year 1738.

appears to have been retained by the citizens to counterbalance the negative power in the magistrates, whereby they might refuse to deliberate on, or propose any question brought before them, which they might deem of a pernicious tendency; which power had not been restricted in the edict. Many senators as well as counsellors, conceiving the new regulations to be highly prejudicial to the welfare of the republic, being extorted by tumult and violence, and likely to introduce all the evils of an unlimited democracy, abdicated their offices; and even many of the more respectable citizens, viewing the edict in the same light, ceased to frequent the general assemblies.

5. Insurrection of the Natives in 1770.

The popular party had scarcely obtained this victory when a new storm burst forth, arising from the discontents of a class of the people, which till then, had been allowed no share in the affairs of government. The *natives*, who though established in the city for many generations, were still, as long as they continued in that class, debarred from all public functions in the state,[14] and had at this time become nearly as numerous as the citizens and burghers, did not hear the incessant din of 'political equality,' and 'the rights of the people,' continually repeated, and enforced by the specious arguments and impressive eloquence of Voltaire, Rousseau, and their numerous disciples, without perceiving that they also might claim some share in these rights, and this equality; and that at least they ought to be freed from some of the humiliating shackles that restrained their industry, and degraded their condition. During the struggles between the magistrates and the citizens, each

[14] They were however far from being wholly excluded, the admission into the burgership having been conceded to them, under certain easy conditions, by the popular edict of the year 1768.

CHAP. IX.

party had alternately countenanced the pretensions of this class of inmates, to prevent their siding with the opposite faction: but these no sooner perceived that in the late edict of reconciliation, framed by the chiefs of the popular party, no regard whatever had been paid to their demands, than their murmurs became loud; and they shewed a determined resolution to shake off their disgraceful trammels. Without any fixed plan, without leaders, and without support, they imprudently imitated the example of the citizens, not doubting but that these, consistently with their own principles, would espouse their cause. They did not scruple to brave the authority of the magistrates in a manner so nearly bordering upon sedition, that coercive measures were found indispensibly necessary. They incurred the suspicion of audacious enterprises to subvert the state, of which however none were ever convicted. This nevertheless afforded to the citizens a fair pretence to arm. An encounter
1770. took place on the fifteenth of February, in which the magistrates, and the citizens who had sided with them, prevailed, and some of the natives perished. Eight of the latter, who were suspected of being the chief instigators, were banished; and several others withdrew of their own accord. The general assembly had proceeded against the exiles without any form of trial: but their illegal severity was compensated by a liberal edict, in which the natives obtained various immunities, which materially improved their political existence.

6. Troubles appeased in 1782.

In the last conciliatory edict,[15] the publication of a code of the existing laws had been once more demanded, and formally conceded; but the two contending parties, (which though ostensibly reconciled, still preserved their inveterate rancour)

[15] Of the year 1768.

found in this article new causes of strife and animosity. The negatives, bearing with impatience the law which had been dictated to them, and still more its effect in driving from the senate and council those whom they deemed the most meritorious magistrates, thought they perceived in the importunity for a written digest, the compilation and due promulgation of which was attended with innumerable difficulties, a persevering design to lower the dignity and abridge the power of the magistracy. The council therefore, where the negatives had a decided majority, found means, by a procedure in which the citizens perceived a great deal of unfairness, to rescind this article of the edict; or at least by the suppression of a committee named jointly by the senate, council, and assembly, for the purpose of selecting and arranging this code, to render that clause ineffectual, and the steps taken in consequence of it wholly nugatory.[16] 1779.

The clamours excited by this measure, which, if not unconstitutional, was at least highly impolitic, soon became too loud and prevalent to admit of a hope that they might be allayed without the interference of the guarantees: and the magistrates accordingly called upon France, Zuric, and Berne, to defend the laws they had sanctioned in one of the former treaties.[17] They likewise omitted no means to strengthen their cause by the accession of the natives, many of whom were already prejudiced against the citizens, by the resistance

[16] There are those who assert that the magistrates never refused the compilation and promulgation of the code; but that they opposed the revisal and interpretation of it, which the popular party demanded. The committee, we are assured, was not dissolved till after it had completed the digest which was afterwards printed.

[17] Of the year 1738.

CHAP. IX.

the latter had offered to the extension of privileges, to which they thought themselves reasonably entitled. Others, at the same time, thought it more natural for them to unite with the representants, who, as advocates for an increase of civil liberty, could not in the end but be more inclined, and had actually promised, to favour their pretensions. Hence arose a division even among this class of the people, which was the source of still greater confusion and animosity. The minds of all ranks were now so exasperated against each other, that every cause of suspicion, every the most trifling incident of altercation, threatened an explosion, the event of which none
1781. could predict or hope to remedy. On the fifth of February, a private quarrel between two opposite parties of natives brought on a general insurrection, which the syndics were endeavouring, and had nearly succeeded to suppress, when accidentally an encounter took place at the arsenal, whither a number of the negatives had resorted, in which one of the natives was killed, and another wounded. This the representants considered as the signal of general insurrection. They took up arms, and without meeting with any opposition, occupied the principal avenues of the city. They named a committee which, as a preliminary step towards strengthening their party, framed an edict, whereby various privileges were to be conferred on the natives and inhabitants, and not less than one hundred of the former were to be admitted into the class of burghers. This edict, which had been drawn up in four and twenty hours, amidst the din of arms, with the city gates shut, and with every circumstance of violence and sedition, was sanctioned by the three branches of the government; though without the concurrence of the negatives, most of

whom had absented themselves from the meetings, being well apprised that their dissent would be over-ruled by the prevalency of the popular party. This secession furnished soon after a pretence for annulling the edict; and thus roused the citizens, and yet more the natives, to such a degree of fury and resentment, that no remedy but the armed interference of the mediating powers, it was now evident, could possibly prevent an abundant effusion of blood.

Meanwhile the refined policy of the cabinet of Versailles, feeling that its joint guarantee with Berne and Zuric would ever operate as a check upon the vigorous measures they were inclined to pursue in support of the aristocratic party at Geneva, resolved to free themselves from those shackles; and accordingly M. de Vergennes in two letters, both of the twenty-fourth of September, the one to the cantons of Zuric and Berne, and the other to the senate of Geneva, declared that the king his master, renounced the guarantee; adding however that in so doing he would not withhold his protection from the republic, but still reserve to himself the power of controuling the disturbers of the public tranquillity, and of maintaining the constitution.[18] The two cantons upon this

[18] The art with which M. de Vergennes' letter to the two cantons is written, will, we trust, apologize for its insertion here, as a diplomatic curiosity.

'I have laid before the king your letter of the 20th ult. By persevering in your 'refusal to adopt the only means which his majesty thought adequate to prepare the 'pacification of Geneva, you have rendered it necessary for him to examine anew all 'that he had done, without effect, towards establishing with you a concert of opinions 'and measures, that might put a stop to the troubles of that city.

'His majesty has been struck with your constant opposition to his views; and has 'persuaded himself, that this contrariety of sentiments among the guarantees has 'greatly contributed to increase the troubles of Geneva.

CHAP. IX.

likewise withdrew their guarantee; and many of the representants vainly imagined that their cause would be materially benefited by this dereliction, conscious that, if left to them-

'The last letter you addressed to me, published with an affectation of candour in 'that city, has confirmed the king in his opinion. It has presented to him a series of 'paradoxes, clashing entirely with the established ideas concerning the duties implied 'by the mediation, and which only tend to place in a false light the whole conduct of 'H. M. concerning Geneva, and a discussion of facts which never existed. It has 'proved to H. M. that you were less than ever disposed to appreciate all that he has 'done and proposed to do in favour of Geneva, and of yourselves.

'The king is not disposed to enquire into the causes which have induced you to 'misinterpret the principles which have guided him, and the circumspection with 'which he has constantly conducted himself in this affair. He sees cause to apprehend that the prejudices and passions which agitate Geneva, have penetrated into 'your councils; and his friendship for you induces him to withhold all that may tend 'to strengthen them. H. M. convinced that it is henceforth impossible that his 'union with you should afford any facility towards pacifying Geneva, has ordered me 'to declare to you, that he considers himself as released from all the engagements he 'entered into with you in the year 1738, for the guaranty of the government of that 'city; and that he will never more claim your concurrence towards the execution of 'that treaty. He notifies this resolution to the republic. This new order of things 'will thus leave you fully at liberty to adopt whatever means you may think conducive towards terminating the troubles of Geneva. H. M. by committing to your 'wisdom so important a concern, feels conscious that he adds to the many proofs he 'has given you of his confidence and regard. But you are no doubt aware that the 'king has always been solicitous not to suffer the government of Geneva to degenerate 'into a tumultuous democracy; and you are too enlightened not to perceive that, 'should you countenance such a revolution, you will compel H. M. to oppose the 'oppression of a party that demands the support of the ancient government, and 'that ought to have relied upon the concurrence of the three guarantees for its 'maintenance.

'Freed from an engagement, of which experience has twice proved the inefficacy, 'H. M. resumes the right he has of watching over the fate of Geneva, according as 'his prudence, his dignity, and the interest of his crown may require. His earnest 'wishes are, that you may succeed in quieting that republic in a manner that he may 'never have occasion to advert to its concerns, except when opportunities may offer 'of giving it proofs of his friendship and protection. I am, &c.

selves, the superiority of their numbers could not fail to insure them success.

1782.

In the night succeeding the eighteenth of March, some of the populace assembled without any known provocation, set fire to a wooden building, and in the confusion this gave rise to, called the citizens to arms. The natives hereupon, and the most violent among the representants, instantly assembled in a tumultuous manner, seized and confined a few of the magistrates and the principal negatives, and detained them as hostages against the coercive measures they expected at the hands of the neighbouring powers, who, notwithstanding the renunciation of the guarantee, they were sure would be called in by the aristocratic party, in support of their inflexible adherence to their austere principles. This was the crisis the French minister was expecting in order to interfere in the affairs of Geneva without any restriction from co-mediators. He marched troops towards the city; and prevailed upon Savoy, without any tie of alliance, to do the same. Berne, aware of the impolicy and danger of suffering those two powers to give laws, and perhaps reduce a city which was ever considered as a key to its territories, advanced likewise some forces (though reluctantly, and not till after various admonitions to adjust their differences without the interference of foreign powers) to co-operate with the others in restoring, as was pretended, tranquillity in that distracted republic. Zuric, not being so immediately concerned, prudently abstained from bearing a part in this invidious transaction.

On the approach of these troops, all the Genevans of the popular party, whom their leaders had inspired with a dangerous confidence in their own strength, and who were now,

CHAP. IX.

joined by all the moderates who found themselves compelled to conform to the spirit of the times, shewed a firm resolution to defend their ramparts to the last extremity; and if at length compelled to yield, to fall under the ruins of their demolished habitations. They named a committee of safety, consisting of eleven members, who were to direct their operations: and displayed an appearance of serenity and fortitude which daunted the negatives, who still remained among them. Aided by their women and children, they laboured incessantly at their fortifications: a body of eighty of their Amazons is said to have put on uniforms, to have armed and demanded a post of danger: children tore up the pavements in the streets, and conveyed the stones to the tops of houses, in order to harass those who might attempt to force a passage into the town. They animated each other by exhortations, by writings, and publications, among which, the *Lettre écrite des Ramparts de Geneve* breathed a spirit of heroism, and patriotic devotedness, of which instances in history are by no means frequent.[18] Many no doubt thought that their valour, and the rectitude of their cause, would ultimately prevail: but the more moderate among them have since acknowledged, that so far from expecting to repel the united efforts of the three powers, each of which was more than competent to crush their diminutive state, all they hoped for was, that by a vigorous exertion of a few days, they might recommend themselves to honourable terms, and save themselves from the imputation of rash audacity.

Things were in this state of frantic effervescence, when on a

[18] This letter, it is said, was not published till after the surrender of the city: if so, it may well be considered as a mere ostentatious vaunt.

sudden, at the moment when an answer was to be given to the summons of the three hostile generals, the committee of safety, aware that if what they meant to propose were laid before the people at large, it would drive them into an excess of fury and resentment, demanded a deputation of one hundred, with whom they might confer on matters of more than ordinary importance. To this deputation, which met on the first of July, they most unexpectedly opened the project of surrendering the city, alleging in long and studied speeches, that after all their efforts, their fortifications were by no means in a condition to repel a first attack, much less to endure a siege; and that the consequences of being reduced by an assault, were too tremendous to leave matters to the hazard of such an issue. On hearing the word *surrender*, a cry of horror and execration pervaded the whole assembly. Many of the deputies attempted to sally forth, in order to apprise the people of this treacherous cowardice, but were prevented by some of the leaders, who bolted the doors. Some abatement of the tumult soon after enabled the committee to put the question of the surrender to the vote, and a great majority decided against it. Many of the deputies upon this, secure in the event of the debate, withdrew; and the committee, seeing the fervour of those who remained considerably abated, found a pretence for renewing the deliberation. After many pathetic representations of the miseries that would inevitably attend their persisting in a fruitless resistance, and a plausible project of seeking freedom and tranquillity in distant countries, it was agreed at midnight, that the magistrates who had been detained as hostages should be released; that the officers be recalled from their posts; that the keys of the city be sent to

CHAP. IX.

the syndics; and that those of the popular leaders, who knew themselves to be most obnoxious to the aristocratic party, should instantly provide for their own safety by flight.

No words can describe the rage and consternation that prevailed throughout the city when this inglorious surrender was announced to the people. Multitudes resolved to abandon their devoted city. The lake and the roads were crowded with emigrants. Most of the leaders who had deserted the cause, having embarked on the lake, were fired at by their exasperated countrymen. The gates were thrown open, and the Piedmontese under Count Marmora, who first entered the city in the morning, found in it only a small number of sullen and dejected inhabitants.[19] The two other commanders soon after made their entry, accompanied by most of the negatives who had taken refuge in their camps. The government was re-established: the edict of the representants, which conferred the burghership on above an hundred natives, was repealed: the citizens were disarmed: and in order to dispel the gloom this degrading humiliation must have diffused among the people, a theatre was established, and the return of peace was celebrated by a variety of entertainments, and all manner of festivity.

An edict was now prepared for new modelling the constitution, which having been approved at Versailles, Turin, and Berne, was proposed to the general assembly, from which the representants, who had taken up arms, and who still far exceeded the number of their opponents, were excluded; and it was there, on the twenty-first of November, adopted, not however without a considerable minority against it.

[19] Meiners pretends to have ascertained the fact, that the Berners were the first who entered the city.

This new constitution annulled all the privileges the citizens had obtained by the preceding edicts.[20] It restored the power of electing the magistrates, lately assumed by the general assembly, to the senate and council. The privilege of remonstrating was taken from the people, and transferred to thirty-six adjuncts, chosen indeed from among the citizens, but so limited in their powers, as to be held up to the derision even of those in whose favour they were authorized to exert their influence.[21] The circles or clubs were prohibited: the city militia was abolished, the guard of the city being committed to a garrison of one thousand foreigners, commanded by a colonel and a major, both likewise foreigners; and taxes were imposed without the approbation of the general assembly. This edict, though highly conducive to strengthen the aristocracy, did not however altogether gratify the party of the negatives, who now incessantly felt the influence of the mediating powers, especially of France; from which quarter they have at length experienced their final annihilation. The greatest blame however, in this unhappy disturbance, is, by the most impartial writers, ascribed to the representants, who, not contented with the important privileges they had obtained by a former edict,[22] namely, the right of re-election, by which in time the whole senate must have been of their nomination, and that of filling up one half of the vacancies in the council; they, eager to grasp immediately at the power of which they had a remote indeed, but certain prospect, precipitated measures, and hastened the destruction of the constitution they meant to perpetuate.

[20] Particularly that of the year 1768. [21] Their power of control was so insignificant, that they were in general called *les images*. [22] Of the year 1768.

CHAP. IX.

7. Revolution in 1789.

Although the aristocracy, after having obtained this signal victory, conducted themselves with great moderation, and, by the strictest impartiality in the administration of justice, and the most cautious frugality in the public expenditure, by repeated acts of beneficence, and singular condescension in their general deportment, displayed an earnest solicitude to conciliate the affections and confidence of the people, and to obliterate the remembrance of their late discomfiture: yet the manner in which the last edict had been obtruded upon the citizens; the introduction of a strong and well disciplined garrison, consisting of, and even commanded by, foreigners; the extensive barracks, evidently calculated for coercion rather than security; the manifest tendency of an established theatre to divert the minds of the people from the contemplation of their degraded condition; and perhaps above all, the consciousness of their diminished independence as a state; all these were co-operating and ever-galling motives of dissatisfaction and rancour, which no arguments could invalidate, and no palliatives could soften.

While Vergennes, the champion of liberty in America, and its bitterest enemy at Geneva, survived, none dared publicly to avow these discontents, being well aware that further struggles would infallibly terminate in still greater severity, and most probably in the final subjugation of their degraded commonwealth: but no sooner had this crafty, and in the end, most impolitic minister, closed his pernicious career, and Necker, the constant abettor of the popular party in his native city, been again admitted into the cabinet of Versailles, than the sanguine hopes of the demagogues once more revived; while the confidence of the ruling party abated in proportion

as new storms were seen to threaten their political horizon. Things however hung yet awhile in an anxious suspence, and a precarious tranquillity might perhaps have been preserved some time longer, had not an incident, trivial in itself, and no wise affecting the small remnant of privilege still retained by the people, suddenly roused the turbulent passions, which led to another convulsion, and in its turn subverted the last repugnant and ephemeral constitution.

It is one of those just retributions, instances of which incessantly occur in the progress of society, that the very means which are devised for pernicious ends, ultimately produce effects which tend to defeat those very purposes. The theatre, which had been established with a view to enervate the minds of the people, became the scene of the first explosion which struck at the newly erected authority of the magistrates. A youth of one of the most considerable families became enamoured of a young actress, whose beauty and talents had recommended her to the favour of the public; and his relations, alarmed at the danger of such a connection, procured a peremptory order for her removal. On her last appearance, an 1788. uproar was raised in the theatre by some of the friends of her admirer, which the magistrates found much difficulty in quelling; and which, though apparently subdued, broke out anew on the next and some succeeding nights, until, by what was deemed a despotic interference, three young men of distinguished families, who had been chiefly concerned in raising the tumult, were apprehended and sentenced, two of them to one month's, and the third to a fortnight's, close imprisonment; and the theatre was for a time ordered to be shut.

This exertion of authority occasioned loud murmurs, and

CHAP. IX.

an unanimous concert among the people not to visit the theatre when the representations were again suffered to proceed: but the symptom of discontent which mostly alarmed the ruling party, was an intention manifested by the citizens to set aside the four syndics at the next annual confirmation of the magistracy; when, in fact, it was only by virtue of the last edict that they remained in office, only five-eighths of the voters having declared against them, whereas three-fourths were now required to operate an exclusion.

Notwithstanding this irritation among the people, it is possible that, had no other incident happened to rouse their resentment, this disturbance might yet have gradually subsided into a long interval of tranquillity: but unhappily, to an uncommon severity of the season which greatly distressed the poorer classes, it was found necessary to add an increase in the price of bread, not only on account of the failure of the preceding harvest, but also because the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, where the price had already been raised, came in crowds to Geneva, to purchase bread at a cheaper rate than they could obtain it at home. This order
1789. was announced on the twenty-sixth of January, and immediately occasioned a numerous concourse, which proceeded to some acts of violence against the bakers who had no longer any bread to sell at the former price. The next day a multitude assembled in the district of St. Gervais, divided from the great town by the Rhone, seized on a carriage which as usual was bringing bread for their consumption, and after a severe scuffle, in which a young man, no ways concerned in the affray, was inadvertently shot by the soldiers, drove away the guard that escorted it. The magistrates now ordered the

garrison to quell the riot; but on the troops approaching the two bridges, they were not only detained by strong barricades raised across them, but also repelled by fire arms, stones, and even by boiling water, poured upon them from two fire-engines brought out for the purpose. In a conflict that ensued at one of the gates of St. Gervais, a woman of some distinction, who came to the window with her child in her arms, was unfortunately killed by a random shot from the military; and in the progress of the uproar, one captain, and some soldiers of the garrison, were killed, and several others, both officers and men, were severely wounded. The magistrates upon this, being daunted by so resolute an opposition, made all possible concessions: they reduced the price of bread to its former rate, promised a general amnesty, and released the few insurgents who had been apprehended in the morning. The next night was as calm as if no disturbance whatever had happened in the course of the preceding day.

Notwithstanding this appearance of restored tranquillity, the magistrates perceived that their authority was not established upon so firm a basis as, after their last triumph, they had been willing to believe. They now experienced that their augmented garrison was not sufficient to contain the people when breaking out into open insurrection; and this consciousness soon prompted them to measures which singularly betrayed their fears and imbecility. They barricadoed the streets where the principal families resided; and on the day when the young man and the woman, who had been accidentally shot by the soldiery, were to be buried, they ordered both the garrison and the artillery to hold themselves in readiness against any violence that might be offered. Exasperated

CHAP. IX.

at this appearance of compulsion and mistrust, the people once more flew to arms; drove the troops, many of whom went over to them, from their posts; took possession of the city gates; and so effectually intimidated the magistrates, that they readily accepted the terms offered them by the attorney-general in the name of the citizens, and on the ninth of February confirmed an edict, which once more new modelled the form of their government.

By this regulation, which was solemnly ratified on the tenth of February by the general assembly, amidst great demonstrations of joy and mutual congratulation, all the rigours of the former edict were abolished. The elections were replaced upon the former footing; all natives of the fourth generation were admitted into the class of burghers; the number of the garrison was reduced to its former establishment; the clubs were restored; the powers of the thirty-six adjuncts were enlarged; the inhabitants of every class were allowed the use of arms; and all who had been banished in the former revolution were reinstated in their privileges. Thus a near approach was again made to absolute democracy: but not near enough to accord with the ideas of liberty which have since threatened to subvert all civil society. Both parties, as soon as they had recovered from the panic and intoxication which had agitated them in the hour of contest, thought they had been either too lenient in their demands, or too hasty in their concessions; and there were not men wanting who foreboded that another revolution was near at hand, which however, they hoped, might be effected without reiterated convulsions.

Such is the outline of the repeated disturbances which have agitated the people of Geneva during the present century:

disturbances no less fatal to themselves, than pernicious to mankind in general, by the dangerous spirit they have been the means of diffusing very extensively around them; and of which, all Europe now feels the disastrous consequences. A circumstantial statement of the later periods of their history is scarce as yet practicable; the passions of individuals still operating in the contemplation, not only of the events themselves, but also of their causes, and the effects produced by them; and casting such a variety of shades upon incidents that may be deemed of the greatest notoriety, that the most industrious and dispassionate enquirers are frequently baffled in their most sincere endeavours to arrive at truth. This instructive inference however may be safely drawn from a collective view of those dissensions and insurrections; that, however detrimental an undue exertion of authority in monarchs and senates may often prove to certain individuals in a state; the evil consequence of an abuse of power in a people vainly striving to assume and to hold the reins of government, is far more dangerous in its nature, and extensive in its mischief, as it never fails to involve the whole community in the general anarchy and ruin it always tends to promote.

CHAP. X.

Dissolution of the Confederacy.

CHAP. X.

Origin of the French Revolution.

No event in history will perhaps ever afford so much matter for speculation to moral, as well as political theorists, as the tremendous revolution, which has of late been spreading horror and devastation over the fairest part of Europe. The investigation of its origin and progress, whenever it can be entered into with the ample stock of materials, in which we shall yet a while be deficient, will be attended with the greater difficulty, as no former conflict of a similar nature has probably ever called forth so many energies and virtues, or set loose such a variety of vices and destructive passions, as the convulsion we are doomed to witness. While a few attentive observers have laboured, with abundance of ingenuity, to trace the whole cause of the evil up to the pernicious efforts of a few miscreants, endowed with great genius, courage, and perseverance, but with a malevolence which could only be gratified by the miseries inseparable from anarchy and sedition; others have derived the calamity from the great change introduced within this century into the state of society, by the rapid influx of wealth from both the Indies, which, falling chiefly to the lot of the industrious, raised the lower classes nearer to a level with the superior orders; and by the improved cultivation of the mind, which insensibly introduced a spirit of enquiry, and a presumptuous

arrogance, that gradually led men to over-rate the powers of reason, and unfitted them for the subordination, without which no government can possibly subsist. Many also have not scrupled to decide that a thorough change in the polity of Europe had become unavoidable, through the many glaring defects in most of the existing governments, rendered still more insupportable by the incapacity and mal-administration of those to whom the direction of affairs had been committed.

All these, no doubt, have some specious arguments in their favour: but posterity, whenever it shall explore the complicated maze of causes and effects which have brought on the eventful period we live in, will probably discover that many and various circumstances have co-operated to produce the evil. While the malignity of the first promoters of revolutionary principles will unquestionably be found to have been the prime and most efficient agent; it will be fair to calculate how far the torpor, inconsistency, and weakness of those who ought to have averted the storm, may have contributed to facilitate the operations of the agitators, who had conspired the downfal of all regular government. As seeds will germinate only in adapted soils; as, in investigating the powers of a machine, we calculate the reciprocal re-action as well as the force to be applied; so must we admit that the promoters of sedition, the dextrous artificers of ruin, have manifestly taken into the line of account, the very feeble resistance they were likely to encounter in the execution of their destructive plans. Future historians will probably estimate the pernicious effects of the puerile ambition and love of innovation, which at this momentous crisis actuated the first sovereign of Europe; the avowed irreligion of the great Frederick; and the wanton

CHAP. X.

dereliction of all principle of the proud Semiramis of the north: they will duly appreciate the inordinate selfishness of these three potentates, and their mutual accord in a flagrant act of injustice,[1] which in a private individual would have been deemed an atrocious theft; which at once broke through the faith of treaties, and damped the confidence nations had till then placed in the law that governed their relative concerns. Future annalists will probably deduce from these and similar causes, an inevitable relaxation in the ties of reverence and loyalty which ought at all times to bind the people to their sovereign, and a political indifference which gave too free a scope to the disorganizers of our days, who were too keen and industrious not to avail themselves of the encouragement so profusely held out to them.

In France the means of resistance were still more feeble than in other parts of the continent; and here, accordingly, the seeds of sedition first broke out into open insurrection. That country had patiently supported two long reigns of depravity and enormous profusion, which had so embarrassed its finances that the benevolent monarch who succeeded, unwilling to recur to the despotic means used by his two predecessors, loosened the reins of his government by demanding voluntary supplies, which his people would still have cheerfully granted, had not various concomitant circumstances damped their loyalty, and alienated the ardent zeal for the glory of their monarchs, for which that nation had been long eminently distinguished. Those to whom the administration of public affairs had been consigned were, for the most part, men destitute of the skill and

[1] The partition of Poland.

vigour which the dangers of the times imperiously demanded. The glaring instances of depravity, moreover, not only winked at by the government, but even countenanced by the examples of those of higher ranks, and in conspicuous stations, had long since offended and alarmed even the well-disposed part of the nation, and greatly favoured the spirit of insubordination which gradually burst forth in all quarters. To this spirit the improvident Vergennes gave additional vigour by his most impolitic American war, which, while it countenanced an open resistance to the established authorities, greatly increased the spreading evil by an additional derangement of the finances. All this, too, happened at a time when the popularity of the sovereign was greatly impaired by his frequent dissensions with his parliaments, whom the people had accustomed themselves to look upon as their steady advocates, and whom repeated successes had taught to aim at further triumphs. Designing men were not wanting, who eagerly embraced the opportunity of accelerating the disturbances which they saw were now impending, and from which they had no doubt of deriving essential advantages. Aware that in order to arrive at their ends they must subvert the present system of society, they resolved to rouse the inferior classes by the fascinating cry of *liberty and equality*, which they well knew no labourer, no journeyman, no vagrant of idle propensities and vicious habits, would be disposed to suppress; and by a specious tender of a *representation in the government*, which men even of superior rank will often be inclined to favour, deeming it much more eligible to have an ostensible share in the administration of public affairs, than to adhere to the peaceful enjoyment of domestic comforts, and the improvement of

CHAP. X.

their private fortunes by the honest arts of industry and economy.

State of Swisserland.

Swisserland was situated too near, and was too closely connected with this nursery of sedition, not to be early infected by the spreading contagion. The cries of liberty, equality, and representation, were soon heard in many of the sequestered valleys, where harmony, peace, and prosperity had subsisted for ages. Its different governments, at the same time, were of too lenient and patriarchal a nature to afford the corrective means which the nature of the evil manifestly required; and hence arose, in various parts, a clamour that these governments were no longer adapted to the spirit of the times. Few, indeed, dared openly avow the charge of oppression against their rulers; the people throughout the country being armed, and the magistrates without a weapon but the love and confidence of the people: no imputation therefore could surely be more false and injurious than that of the tyranny of an oligarchy, so incessantly proclaimed by the French agents and depredators. It must, however, be owned, that in some of the aristocratic cantons a certain inequality had taken place, which, though far from unjust or oppressive in its origin, did yet, in time, become vexatious to those who were stationed in the inferior ranks. At Zuric and Basle, for instance, where the citizens engrossed not only all the authority and emoluments of government, but even, to a certain degree, monopolized the best part of the profits of the industrious inhabitants of the country, the peasantry having once heard the cry of emancipation and equality, stood in little need of French emissaries to urge them to a claim of equal rights, to which they might well think, and they had before

now intimated, that the services they had rendered to the state had given them a just title. Accordingly it was soon perceived that the peasants on the lake of Zuric, and in the rural districts of Basle, were preparing to be among the foremost in adopting a spirit of disaffection, and in advancing pretensions of a revolutionary tendency.

In the Pays de Vaud a similar spirit had been long since disseminated, but under some variety of circumstances. The peasants, though far less industrious, and hence less opulent, than those of the German districts of the canton of Berne, were however abundantly satisfied with the protection they felt and acknowledged at the hands of their magistrates, whom they considered as, and often addressed by the endearing name of fathers: but among the gentry and citizens murmurs were heard, which the government slighted till it was no longer able to suppress them. Most of the latter were descended from refugees, who had quitted France at the repeal of the edict of Nantes. Among these, many were found who, emulous of being thought no less public spirited and impatient of controul than their neighbours of Geneva, bore with restless indignation their exclusion from, or at least the great difficulty that obstructed their admission into, the higher offices of magistracy. These accordingly resolved to use all means they could devise, or that might be afforded them by foreign aid, to achieve their emancipation from the government of Berne, even at the price of their competent freedom, and the many domestic comforts they had long enjoyed in one of the most exhilarating regions upon earth; like one who, being affected by some trifling complaint in his extremities, relieves himself by the amputation of his limbs.

CHAP. X.

These symptoms of rising disaffection might easily have been repressed, had the magistracies, in whose districts they manifested themselves, acted with the wisdom and unanimity necessary to invigorate their measures. There are abundance of incontestable proofs that the bulk of the people, conscious of their prosperous state, were firmly addicted to their venerable constitution and its administrators; and would have shewn the same zeal and heroism in its defence of which they had given proofs at Morgarten, Sempach, and Næfels: but their rulers suffered partial views and selfish motives to influence their deliberations; and hence their councils became undecided, and their decrees fluctuating, and often contradictory. France, they knew, would declare in favour of the insurgents; and all those therefore who still received stipends, pensions, or annuities from that state, never failed to oppose every coercive expedient; while those, whose morals had been tainted, and patriotic ardour allayed, by the depravity of French manners, would, perhaps, more from levity than sinister views, impede the measures that might have saved the commonwealth. Thus do we find in the conduct of these governments, particularly in that of Berne, where the interests of the French republic were most predominant, and whose resolves chiefly influenced the cantons, a hesitation which destroyed all confidence; and an alternate recourse to severity and compliance, a practice of all others the most conducive to afford plausible pretences for complaint, and a reliance on the means of resistance. Some true patriots, and men of sound policy and undaunted courage, succeeded at times to excite a few paroxysms of vigour; but these were all of short duration, and generally succeeded by still greater examples of debility: and the inglo-

rious pusillanimity of the whole tenor of their conduct, which they dignified by the name of moderation, soon convinced the French directory of the facility of the subjugation, which doubtless they had long meditated. The facts now to be related will afford an additional proof how effectually temporizing compliance, and servile timidity, will provoke accumulated insults, and accelerate the ruin of a desponding state.

Treatment of the Swiss Troops in France.

The number of Swiss troops which had, ever since the treaty of subsidy between Lewis the Eleventh and the Helvetic body, been retained in the service of France, had, during the present century, in general amounted to about fourteen thousand men, distributed into eleven regiments, which, considering their acknowledged bravery, strict discipline, and inflexible adherence to their engagements, were at all times looked upon as the flower of the French army. The earliest promoters of sedition viewed this steady phalanx with a suspicious eye, and one of their first attempts was to seduce them from their allegiance. They succeeded in a great measure with the regiment of Chateau-Vieux, at this time in garrison at Nancy; the greatest part of which mutinied, plundered their military chest, and shewed a disposition to desert their colours. Count Bouillé arrived in time to quell the tumult. Those who had been foremost in the revolt were seized, and, conformably with an article in their capitulation, were tried by their own officers. Twenty-two of them were sentenced to death, and forty-one, who had been convicted of the theft on the regimental chest, were condemned, and actually sent, to the gallies at Brest. The Jacobin party, unwilling that any one should suffer for disobedience or treason, and further prompted by their animosity

1790.

CHAP. X.

against Bouillé and La Fayette, the latter of whom had incurred their enmity by his strict adherence to subordination and discipline, warmly espoused the cause of the convicts at Brest, and impetuously demanded their release; and in this they readily succeeded, in open violation of the treaties, according to which the sentences of the court-martial could only be repealed by the cantons. The party, at the instigation of the comedian Collot d'Herbois, caused the felons to be brought in triumph to Paris, introduced them, with shouts of congratulation and applause, into the legislative assembly, and even rewarded them as victims of despotic tyranny. The cantons, so far from resenting this outrage, did not even venture a remonstrance, or utter the least complaint.

1791. Whether the mode of seduction was found too tardy or altogether ineffectual, a different expedient was next adopted, which, in fact, proved more speedy and successful. The Bernese regiment of Ernst, the oldest, and one of the most distinguished in the line, was quartered at Aix in Provence. Although it had, in compliance with an order from the supreme council of Berne, taken the oath prescribed by the new constitution; yet, because it preserved order and discipline, and did not partake of the enthusiasm of the frantic multitude, it was generally considered as addicted to the aristocratic party. A numerous band of desperate Marsillians was dispatched to Avignon, where some anti-revolutionary plots were suspected to be in agitation. These ruffians were instructed to assail the regiment of Ernst in their way through Aix, and to deprive it of the means of impeding the projected revolution. They

1792. arrived in this city on the twenty-fifth of February. The

governor had previously commanded the regiment to retire into its barracks, which order was immediately obeyed. Notwithstanding this readiness to abstain from all interference in the concerns of the contending parties, the Marsillians declared that, unless the whole regiment surrendered its arms, and evacuated the town, they would instantly attack it, and proceed to any extremity if it offered the least resistance. Major de Watteville, the commanding officer, resolved to prevent the threatened carnage, which he was convinced could be productive of no beneficial purpose, and ordered the soldiers to lay down their arms. They immediately marched out of Aix, in the same manner as the remnant of the legions of L. Cassius had formerly retired before the Tigurini, without a weapon except a simple staff. The regency of Berne immediately recalled the regiment, and wrote to the king to demand the arms, which were its property. They indeed, though in guarded terms, complained of the indignity offered to their nation; but no notice was taken of the remonstrance, although it was laid before the assembly at the king's recommendation.

Massacre at the Tuilleries.

These insults, however, were trivial when compared with the horrid massacre that was soon after committed on the Swiss guards, while, true to their allegiance, and surrounded by defection, they were, with heroic intrepidity, defending the king, his family, and his palace, against the frenzy of a lawless multitude. The event of the tenth of August, in which, near eight hundred brave confederates, worthy of their gallant ancestors who fell on the cemetery of St. Jacob, perished in the faithful discharge of their duty, is of too public notoriety to be here dwelt upon. The few who escaped the slaughter in

CHAP. X.

the Tuilleries were imprisoned, and afterwards butchered in the dreadful havock of the second of September. Though many hundreds of Swiss families were, by this atrocious act, reduced to mourn the loss of some near friend or relative, yet not a murmur on the part of the Helvetic governments was heard in France, and not a step was taken to obtain even the semblance of redress: and so far was the French assembly from expressing any compunction for the unmerited aggression, that, ten days after the horrid carnage, they issued a decree, by which, regardless of the long established ties of friendship, of the many existing treaties, capitulations, and conventions, and without the least communication with the cantons on the subject, all the Swiss regiments, at that time in the service of France, were suddenly disbanded and sent home, without any indemnification for the heavy losses which many of the individuals sustained by this abrupt dismissal.

Perhaps it will appear incredible, and yet it is true, that notwithstanding these repeated and unexampled provocations, the Helvetic diet, at this time assembled at Arau, declared that they would stedfastly adhere to a strict neutrality between the contending parties. This neutrality, while it proved particularly detrimental to the combined armies, was of the greatest utility to France, as it not only secured a feeble frontier of upwards of sixty leagues against all foreign attack, but likewise preserved the only door the French had now left open to all the markets of Europe. How far it was conducive to the honour, safety, and even existence of the confederacy, the event has shewn.[2]

[2] It may be deemed a calamity, that a man so dextrous, so versatile, and possessed of qualities so specious as Barthelemy, should, at this time, have been the French

CHAP. X.

First Symptoms of disaffection in the Pays de Vaud.

Meanwhile the revolutionary agents in the Pays de Vaud, perceiving the want of energy their government betrayed on most occasions, and that the complexion of the times was favourable to their designs, began to act with less circumspection, and publicly avowed sentiments and claims which, till then, no one had ventured to advance with the most distant view of obtaining redress. The leaders, however pernicious their principles may have been, were not men of common abilities and vigour. Clavieres, a native of Geneva, who had been proscribed from that city in one of the revolutions in which the aristocracy prevailed, was now at Paris, immersed in the torrent of the revolutionary vortex, in which he soon after became one of the principal leaders, and an early victim.[3] Nothing was neglected by this artful and indefatigable demagogue that tended to subvert, or any way disturb, the government which had contributed to the overthrow of the party

minister in Swisserland. He no doubt made good use of the private interests of individuals to soften the resentment, which it is impossible the late atrocities should not have excited among the people. It may, moreover, be some extenuation of the feeble conduct of the Swiss governments, that they had some reason to entertain doubts of the unanimous co-operation of the people, had they been called to arms; and that in fact (what we here assert upon no equivocal authority) all the great powers of Europe, when they still believed in the great facility of crushing the French republic, strongly recommended to the Swiss to persevere in the neutrality, which the same powers afterwards loudly reprobated. Thus much is certain, that no offers of subsidies were made to the cantons, without which it was impossible for them to engage in a war of this magnitude; in which, at the critical moment of the siege of Lyons, and the precarious possession of Toulon by the allies, their co-operation might have been of the most decisive consequence.

[3] He was minister of finances during Roland's administration; and on the expulsion of that faction, he, being in confinement, and hearing the names of those who were to impeach him, preferred the death of Cato, to the horrors of a public execution, which he knew he could no longer escape.

CHAP. X.

he had abetted in his own republic: and through him and his associates, the disaffected in the Pays de Vaud received assurances of the concurrence and support of France in the plans they had concerted. Cæsar Frederick la Harpe of Rolle had been bred to the profession of the law; but having failed of success in one of the first law-suits he had conducted before his municipal tribunal, he left his country in disgust, and repaired to Petersburg, where he was not only graciously received by the great Catherine, but even entrusted with a share in the education of two of her grandsons, and soon after promoted to the rank of colonel.[4] His remote situation no ways prevented his fomenting the disturbances that were preparing in his native country: and such was the frequency and malignity of his correspondence, that the magistrates of Berne, who had thought it necessary to inspect his letters, extracted from them a delineation of his character, which they transmitted to the empress. This charge, however, he found means so effectually to elude, that he was suffered to continue in his station till, the revolutionary conflagration having gained the upper hand in the west of Europe, he resolved to return to his native valleys;[5] but being refused admission into the canton of Berne, he took up his residence on the contiguous territory of Geneva, and from thence organized the insurrections which ended in the subjugation of his country.[6] Amadeus la Harpe of Yens, near Aubonne, a man of property

[4] It is well known that in Russia all promotions in the civil line are classed according to military rank. C. F. la Harpe never served in the army.

[5] In 1794.

[6] He became in the sequel one of the five of the Helvetic directory, which, being found inadequate for the purposes of government, is now (Jan. 1800) superseded by a provisionary administration.

and some weight in his vicinage, did not act so conspicuous a part as his last mentioned cousin of Rolle, having been earlier checked in his career. Being at his seat when the disturbance first broke out in the Pays de Vaud, which he on all occasions industriously promoted, he is known to have been the principal channel through which the distant co-operators, at Paris and Petersburg, conveyed the venom they meant to disseminate: being actually detected, he was one of the first who felt the effects of the desultory vigour which the government at times exerted.

The first explosion took place on the second anniversary of the demolition of the Bastille,[7] which Amadeus la Harpe caused to be celebrated with great festivity in many of the Helvetic towns on the lake of Geneva. The supreme council of Berne, being apprised of the spirit of disaffection that had manifested itself on this occasion, sent a special commission, attended by a force of three thousand men, to inquire into the causes of the murmurs, and to inflict punishment on those whom they should convict of seditious practices. The commissioners opened their court at Rolle. Whether the remonstrances the people had to make were really trivial, or whether the force attending the commission intimidated the discontented, no complaints of any consequence were here brought forward; and the tribunal had little else to do than to examine into the delinquency of several of the ringleaders, some of whom they confined in the castle of Chillon, and others they restrained by less severe punishments. Many fled from justice, and among these Amadeus la Harpe, who, having by this default incurred the penalties of high treason,

[7] July the 14th, 1791.

CHAP. X.

was sentenced to suffer death in case he should return to the territories of the republic.[8]

French Armies approach the Frontiers.

The rest of Swisserland was as yet in a state of perfect tranquillity, when, war having been declared between the emperor and the French republic, one of the first operations on the part of the latter was, the taking possession of the district of Porentru. General Custine, towards the end of April, distributed six thousand men in the passes which opened through this country, from the Brisgau into the French districts of upper Alsace. This most important part of the bishopric of Basle, did not indeed lie within the boundaries of the Helvetic territories; but the bishop, as a confederate, was authorized to demand the protection of the cantons; and at any rate it was to them a most alarming circumstance to see a French army in possession of the strongest posts on one of the least secure parts of their frontiers.

Another French army approached soon after at a still more vulnerable part of the confines, where, disaffection having already spread its venom, it would be infallibly encouraged by the prospect of the vigorous support that might reasonably be expected from such powerful auxiliaries. General Montesquiou received orders to take possession of the dutchy of Savoy. He was ostensibly directed to pay due respect to the neutrality of the Helvetic body, which order he, from inclination as well as duty, strictly obeyed: nor could it be considered as any infraction of this neutrality on the part of the Swiss, that, this step being taken at the solicitation of the magistrates of

[8] He entered into the French service; and having risen to the rank of general of division, was, through a mistake, killed by his own party at the passage of the Po, near Codogno, in the year 1796.

Geneva, who, in order to guard against the insults they might well apprehend when contending armies were so near their gates, demanded a reinforcement from their confederates. The cantons of Zuric and Berne, towards the end of September, actually marched sixteen hundred men into this city: this act of vigour however, not being considered in the same impartial light by the French directors, their general advanced with avowed hostile intentions; but soon after, with a moderation which was not likely to gratify the asperity of his superiors, he agreed to a convention. This agreement was signed on the twenty-second of October, and stipulated that the Swiss troops were to evacuate the city before the first of December; upon which the French were likewise to withdraw within a certain distance of its gates.

No one was more indignant at this lenity than Clavieres, who now held the office of minister of finances at Paris, and who, besides aiming at the total overthrow of the present government of Geneva, harboured a particular animosity even against his former party in that city, which, aware of the impending danger, had now cordially coalesced with the magistracy. Peremptory orders, issuing originally from him, were sent to the general to revoke the convention, and to pay no regard to the neutrality of the Pays de Vaud. Whether from motives of justice or humanity, or from some less commendable inducement, the commander remonstrated against the perfidious decree, and procrastinated, until a strict order came to his subordinate officers to seize him, and send him prisoner to Paris. This command he eluded by flight. Clavieres appears to have been in some measure pacified by the triumph he obtained on this occasion: he suffered his countrymen,

CHAP. X.

by dismissing their Swiss auxiliaries, to fulfil the ruinous terms to which they had engaged themselves in the capitulation; and then countenanced the emissaries, who, jointly with the French resident Servan, instigated a few of the natives to renew their claims of admission into the general assembly, and to raise a faint clamour, which soon became the pretence for the introduction of French troops, and a surrender of the independence of the city This event, while it filled all ranks with horror and dismay, was represented to the directory as the cause of joy and exultation in the astonished citizens.[9]

The Cantons persist in their Neutrality. 1793.

While the French were dragging their last, and one of their best, monarchs to the scaffold, Brissot and his party, who probably saw that their usurped authority could only be protracted by an extensive foreign war, contrived the aggression of Holland, and consequently of England, and urged the necessity of either extorting from the Helvetic body another abject declaration of neutrality, or of carrying fire and sword into its peaceful regions; Clavieres at the same time, and some fugitives from the Pays de Vaud, actually digesting the plan of an invasion, and estimating the profits that would acrue to them from the plunder to be committed at Berne.[10] Austria and Sardinia thought the measure of disgrace the Swiss had now sustained so full, that they had little doubt of the success of a proposal they at length made to the cantons to join the coalition; but the Swiss, knowing from long experience how little they could rely upon the promises of these courts, now, in their turn,

[9] A full and animated account of this iniquitous transaction has been published by Mr. D Chauvet, in a tract entitled, 'Conduite du gouvernement François envers la 'republique de Geneve.'

[10] V. Memoirs of General Dumouriez, t. i. chap. 10.

resisted all the arguments that were suggested, and vainly flattered themselves that, by temporizing, they should still escape the conflagration that was spreading all around them. The author who appears to have written with most impartiality on this subject,[11] with an inconsistency that cannot well be accounted for, gratuitously extols the wisdom of the Swiss government in persisting in this neutrality, while in the same page he adduces facts which evince the ruinous tendency of the measure. No alternative in the affairs of this nation was perhaps ever so critical and hazardous as the present: but this truth we may safely infer from the whole tenor of its conduct, that a people who will be free and independent, must rely wholly upon its own means of repelling unmerited aggression.

The intended blow (for it would equally have been inflicted notwithstanding the lowliness of the cantons) was for a time suspended, it is said, by the remonstrances of a member of the supreme council of Berne, who was then at Paris, and who, though without credentials, exerted himself to conciliate the forbearance of the directory. He delineated in lively colours, in an occasional tract,[12] the signal advantages France derived from the neutrality of the Swiss, at a time when the united forces of nine foreign powers were pouring in upon its frontiers, and civil discord was sapping its very vitals; when the

[11] Posselt *Europ. annal.* 1798. No. 2.

[12] *Coup d'Oeil sur les rélations politiques entre la Republique Franscaise et le Corps Helvetique*: by Col. Weiss. The same author some time after published a pathetic exhortation to his countrymen under the title of *Réveillez vous Suisses, le danger approche.* The subject of this neutrality has been amply discussed by C. L. Haller, in an *Exposé historique des faits concernants la neutralité de la Suisse envers la France*: published in the year 1797.

CHAP. X.

Vendée was in flames, and Lyons offered a resistance which, had it been seconded from the Alps, would no doubt have prevented the fall of Toulon, and perhaps detached the southern departments from the infant republic. His arguments gained general applause: Dumouriez seconded the powerful impression they made; and the general Desprez-Crassier, who commanded in the district of the upper Rhine, received strict orders, 'to proceed with the greatest circumspection in 'all things relating to the Swiss; and to be particularly upon 'his guard against the false insinuations of intriguers, who 'were endeavouring to sow dissensions between them and the 'French republic.' Even Robespierre, addressing Col. Weiss, used the expression, 'the name of Swiss must be ever dear to 'all true Frenchmen, and is particularly so to me.' The fall of Lyons, which twenty thousand Swiss would inevitably have prevented,[13] was in fact the critical period at which the French arms recovered the ascendancy, which has since for a time enabled an imperious directory to dictate laws to Europe.

Successes of the French.

1794.

The brilliant successes of the French arms in the campaign of the ensuing year, first removed the doubts the cabinets of Europe had till now entertained of the competency of the French rulers, to negotiate and conclude treaties. Prussia was the first link the directory found means to detach from the chain of the coalition: but great obstacles presented themselves as to the mode of conducting the conferences, and the

[13] England, by virtue of the capitulations between Holland and some of the Helvetic states, had a right to accede to those treaties upon similar terms, and might have demanded the number of troops that would probably have performed this service. The British cabinet was apprized of the fact; but it does not appear what use was made of the timely intelligence.

place where they should be carried on. The latter difficulty was obviated, by fixing upon the only neutral country accessible to the plenipotentiaries of both parties; and, at Basle, the temporizing Barthelemy, seconded by the subtile tribune of Basle, Peter Ochs, of whom more will be said hereafter, brought about the first agreement between a monarch and the declared enemies to monarchy. This was soon after, and by the specious persuasions of the same agent, followed by a similar pacification between the regicides and the representative of the nearest branch of the royal house, whose chief they had led to the scaffold: and lastly, one of the most considerable of the German princes accepted also of a reconciliation, which in the preceding year would have been held in the greatest abhorrence.[14] 1795.

Another campaign followed, in which the Austrians, after a series of discomfitures, obtained such signal advantages, as brought the armies, which had reached the frontiers of Austria and Bohemia, back to the Rhine, and obliged the Swiss to take vigorous steps for the preservation of their neutrality. In the months of September and October, general Moreau made his ever memorable retreat, in which several of his straggling parties having been driven towards the confines of the Helvetic states, demanded, and, notwithstanding the loud remonstrances and menaces of the Austrian generals, readily obtained, permission to proceed, through their territories, towards the frontiers of France; detached, indeed, in small numbers, and without arms or ammunition, but receiving all the relief their deplorable condition stood in need of. As concessions and friendly offices 1796.

[14] The peace with Prussia was signed on the 5th of April, with Spain on the 22d of July, and with Hesse Cassel on the 25th of August.

CHAP. X.

appear to have been the principal claims of the Swiss confederates to the outrages they have experienced from France, these acts of humanity ought, no doubt, to be likewise inserted in the catalogue of their title deeds.

The long protracted sieges of Kehl, and of the Tête de Pont at Huningen, rendered it necessary for the cantons to collect a force; and they actually formed a cordon on that frontier, where the near approach of numerous Austrian troops, elate with victory, and at all times addicted to plunder, afforded frequent causes of mutual complaints and recriminations. In the night of the thirtieth of November, one of the Austrian columns which had been ordered to storm an outwork at Huningen, mistook its way, and spread beyond the established line of demarcation. The clamours of Barthelemy upon this were loud and imperious. He taxed the Swiss officers who commanded the cordon with cowardice and base corruption; and the cantons, ever compliant with his peremptory mandates, immediately caused them to be arrested, and sentenced three of them to a long confinement. On the first day of
1797. the next month of February, the Tête de Pont of Huningen surrendered to the Austrians; but on the other hand the important city of Mantua, the bulwark of the Austrian power in Italy, yielded likewise, about the same time, to the victorious arms of Bonaparte. This intrepid commander, by a sudden and most hazardous expedition, of which there is scarce an example in history, and with his usual ardour and rapidity, forced his way into the heart of Austria, spread a panic to the very gates of Vienna, and compelled a ready acceptance of the terms of accommodation he was pleased to offer. The preliminaries were signed at Leoben on the seventeenth of April;

and on the eighteenth of October the treaty, which delivered France from its last and most formidable enemy on the continent, was ratified at the Friulese castle of Campo Formio. Posterity will know how to appreciate and acknowledge the eminent service rendered to the human race by the magnanimous British Monarch, who, seconded by his intrepid minister, and a brave, wise, and loyal people, singly and undismayed, in the midst of this defection, still braved the raging tempest; and will, it may be hoped, still be the means not only of preventing the extinction of piety, honour, and religion, but also of preserving the elegant improvements which embellish life, and contribute to sooth the hour of sorrow.

It might have been expected that the Swiss would now have reaped the fruits of the servile obsequiousness of their rulers, and that all danger would henceforth have been averted from their confines:[15] but so far was such an act of justice from entering into the plans of the French rulers, that the disastrous period of humiliation now approached, when this deluded people were to experience reproaches, insults, and calamities of the most degrading nature; and, at length, the final overthrow of their venerable confederacy. It remained now for the French, who had strengthened their eastern frontier by the course of the Rhine, and the republican out-posts in Italy and Holland, to secure it completely by assimilating to their government, or obtaining an absolute sway over, one of the most martial people, inhabiting a country which has not improperly been called the citadel of Europe. It became also necessary for them to raise fresh supplies, towards carrying on the plan of

[15] Many enlightened Swiss persist in their opinion that, but for the treaty of Campo Formio, their neutrality would still have saved their country.

CHAP. X.

universal conquest they seem at this time to have digested. To new model the government of this country, and to reduce its supreme power into one collective body, appeared to them the most conducive to their purposes; being well aware that they would find it much easier to influence, or rather direct, the spirit of one ruling aggregate, than to conciliate the opinions of upwards of twenty fœderative, but independent, governments, often differing in principles and interests, but, in general, tenacious of their antiquated maxims, and firmly addicted to their religious duties and opinions, and to the dictates of justice and humanity, which it might be thought would ill qualify them as allies or members of the overbearing republic.

The French bring charges against the Swiss.

The first step of the directory towards securing a plausible pretence for an open rupture, was to proclaim to the world the various insults their nation had sustained on the part of the confederates. A formal manifesto being as yet premature, they caused their periodical papers and occasional pamphlets,[16] to exhibit charges which the republic, they declared, could no longer suffer to pass unnoticed and unrevenged. They urged, that the Swiss had, during the war, made most usurious profits in their commercial intercourse with France: that not only their illicit traffic with the French assignats, but also their abundant fabrication of them, had greatly contributed to depreciate their value, and had, in fact, materially injured the credit of the French nation: the toleration of the emigrant priests and royalists; the countenance given to a contraband trade, chiefly with English goods; and the suffering a British

[16] The Rédacteur, Moniteur, Publiciste, Les Bailiffs Suisses Demasqués, &c. &c.

minister to reside in their country, who, it was pretended, by underhand practices, and enormous subornations, fomented sedition, and encouraged levies against the republic; the persecuting the friends of liberty, and at all times displaying an aversion to the revolutionary principles espoused by a people which proudly assumed the name of the great nation; these were the most important among the general accusations brought forward with much speciousness and arrogance. To these they also added, as particular instances of disrespect towards the great republic, the seizure of the envoys Semonville and Maret, on the confines of the Valteline;[17] the suffering the reduced officers to wear the military orders conferred on them by the king; the trespass of the Austrians at the cordon of Huningen; and various other imputations of a still more trivial nature.

Answered.

Although it was manifest that no force of argument would avert the ruin to which the directory had devoted this country, yet one of the ablest among the statesmen of Berne[18] did not omit to vindicate his country from these aspersions, in a manner that has appeared satisfactory to all impartial men, but could not disarm the French directors. The freedom of trade, he said, could not be restrained without mutual disadvantages; and French individuals, as well as the state itself, have, no doubt, reaped as much advantage from this traffic as those of Swisserland. The forging of assignats he positively denied, and quoted the different ordinances that were issued for pre-

[17] 25th of July, 1793. They were indeed seized on the Helvetic territories, but on the very confines, where there was no post of defence, and by Austrian catchpoles (*sbirri*) who had been sent thither from Milan.

[18] C. L. Haller, *Exposé Historique*, &c.

CHAP. X.

venting such illicit practices, and for restraining any fraudulent traffic respecting them: the Swiss merchants, he added, had in fact long supported the credit of the French paper currency; and when it at length failed, by its enormous accumulation, none were more injured than these fair dealers: no nation, he maintained, suffered more by the failure of the French funds than the Swiss; nor was the sudden reduction of their regiments in the French service, without the allotment of the least indemnification, a trivial cause of the diminution of the property of his countrymen, occasioned by the proceedings of the French government: 'And yet with all these losses,' he concludes, 'has not the nation stedfastly resisted the repeated 'and advantageous offers of the combined powers to join in 'the coalition; and this too at a time when its acceptance 'would probably have proved fatal to the republic?'

Swarms of emigrants, he owns, flocked into this country, to which they were allured by its contiguity and similarity of language; nor could the governments, consistently with their constitution, refuse them admission: but, so far from countenancing any secret intrigues of theirs, he recites the many regulations that were made to prevent the effects of their underhand practices, and observes that, finding them ineffectual, the supreme council of Berne ventured upon a measure that had never before been recurred to, the ordering all these unhappy exiles, without any delinquency being proved against them, to quit the territories of the canton;[19] and this order being repeatedly enforced a few months after, it was found that only one hundred and fourteen of these wretched fugitives still remained, all of whom, from decrepitude, infirmity, or

[19] June the 17th, 1796.

tender years, were objects of the deepest commiseration. Even before this proscription, every emigrant whom the French minister denounced, was immediately seized, closely examined, and rigorously dealt with if the least delinquency against the French government was proved against him. When, in the sequel, these hapless fugitives were abandoned, persecuted, and oppressed, in most countries in Europe, and many, driven by despair, resolved to seek either a precarious existence, or a grave, in their native country, numbers, it is true, attempted to penetrate by the way of Swisserland. The government, in all the steps it took concerning these rash adventurers, acted in concert with the French ambassador, and used every possible precaution to prevent the undue distribution, or the forging of passports; and it is well known that most of the spurious permissions that were detected, had been procured from the interior parts of France. Regardless, moreover, of the established liberty of the press, all publications that any way reflected upon the government of France were instantly suppressed by the Swiss states, and their authors ordered to quit the territories of the confederacy; among whom is even to be numbered their meritorious countryman Mallet du Pan, who was taxed with having contributed some impartial strictures to a periodical paper, at that time publicly printed at Paris. For the truth of all these allegations, an appeal is made to the French ambassador himself, who, more than once, publicly expressed his approbation of the efficacious measures that had been taken to accomplish the objects of his various requisitions. Mr. Wickham's residence, as minister from a sovereign at peace with the cantons, could not, upon any principles of the law of

CHAP. X.

nations, be objected to or impeded: but the same French ambassador is called upon to attest whether all possible precautions were not taken to prevent the alleged secret practices and intrigues which had been made a subject of reproach. The seizing or banishing some of their own countrymen, who had publicly avowed themselves hostile to the established government, was surely a legal act of self-preservation, which every state must needs be allowed to practice: how else could the French directory have justified its proceedings on the memorable eighteenth of Fructidor?

Valteline, &c. torn from the Confederacy.

Even before the conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio, which may be considered as the æra when the destruction of the Helvetic confederacy was decreed by the directory, the victorious Bonaparte, having been called upon to decide a contest between the Grison leagues and their subject provinces of Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, which had revolted; without the least regard to six existing treaties, by which the French monarchs had guaranteed these provinces to those leagues, determined the difference, by annexing them to the newly established Cisalpine republic: and thus, by a simple proclamation, he abridged the confederacy of a fertile valley, near one thousand square miles in extent, and containing upwards of one hundred thousand inhabitants.

Bonaparte visits Switzerland.

Having completed his brilliant military, as well as diplomatic, career in Italy, Bonaparte, under pretence of repairing to the congress of Rastadt, resolved upon a progress through the territories of the confederacy. At Lausanne he was welcomed with a degree of frantic exultation: at Berne he experienced a ceremonious, but splendid, civility, expressive of the awe in which the people stood of a man of superior

talents, but in whose promises they knew they could place no confidence.[20] The magistrates of Soleure, unpolished and morose, could so little accommodate themselves to the honours due to the hero of the day, that they sentenced the commander of their artillery to a long imprisonment, because he saluted him on his passage through their city without orders. He was, however, soon released, at the peremptory requisition of the French minister. What impressions the general received on this journey, may be gathered from his declaration on his arrival at Basle, where the revolutionary mine he knew was near exploding, 'that he was now once more in a republic.' He surveyed, with the eye of a soldier, the fields of Morat, and the enclosures of St. Jacob; but, with the sagacity of a French politician, he predicted that the Gothic fabric of the Helvetic constitution was no longer suited to the present times, and would quickly be subverted. Granting the fact, men of candour will determine whether the fault lay with the times, or with the constitution.

The period was now approaching when the confederacy was to receive its deadly blow. The mild Barthelemy was recalled, and placed in the directory. He was succeeded by Bacher, who however, being likewise found too lenient for the services expected from him, was soon after superseded by Mengaud, a creature of Rewbel, who had been thoroughly trained in the school of republican virtues. This new pro-

Mengaud's mission.

[20] The magistrates had prepared for Bonaparte a sumptuous ball and supper at Berne, relays of horses throughout their country, and every mark of honour they usually conferred upon the greatest sovereigns; all which he disdained, and had not even the common civility to return a visit to the avoyer. The country was already doomed.

CHAP. X.

consul was no sooner arrived at Basle than he displayed a wide tri-coloured flag before his house, and in his frequent journies through the Swiss territories, decorated his carriages with abundance of tri-coloured streamers. He not only signified his protection, and promised the support of the great nation, to all who might think themselves injured by their governments; but even (an insult of which there is no example in the history of civilized and independent nations) issued formal protections[21] in favour of the inhabitants of several towns, declaring the magistrates personally responsible for the safety of all those who might manifest principles favourable to the revolution, or, in other words, shew themselves averse to their legitimate sovereigns. He had at first the humiliation to find that the number of disaffected was but a small proportion of the people: but it soon appeared that the fascinating invitations he threw out, which the magistrates knew not how to obviate or resent, rapidly increased these numbers of adherents, particularly in certain districts, where collateral causes had combined to excite uneasiness and discontent.

The Vaudese claim the guarantee of France.

In addition to this encouragement, the movers of sedition in the Pays de Vaud found now another expedient for authorizing the interference of France in their quarrel with their sovereigns of Berne. La Harpe supplied the materials in an elaborate work,[22] in which he stated that this country had,

[21] Posselt has preserved the form of these protections, as well as most of the authentic documents that have been used in the present narrative.

[22] *Essai sur la Constitution du Pays de Vaud*, two volumes, 8vo. The same question had a few years before been discussed with abundance of ingenuity, though with a less sinister view, by J. J. Cart, in his *Lettres à B. de Muralt sur les évenemens du Pays de Vaud.* Muller, in his well authenticated History of Swisserland, had long before admitted the existence of the states of the Pays de Vaud; but in this instance

while in the hands of the dukes of Savoy, possessed several privileges, among which, an annual assembly of the states, consisting of the dignified clergy, the nobles, and the chief magistrates of fourteen towns, was not one of the least important: that formerly, no ordinance of the sovereign had the force of law, till it had been confirmed at one of these assemblies: that in the treaty of St. Julian,[23] in which the Duke of Savoy had mortgaged the Pays de Vaud to the canton of Berne, and in a subsequent pacification concluded at Lausanne,[24] in which Duke Emanuel Philibert had ceded to the said canton for ever, the claims of his house upon that district, all the rights and privileges of the clergy, nobles, commoners, and communities, had been expressly reserved in the full extent in which they had ever been enjoyed in former times: and that the latter of these treaties had been formally guaranteed by the French monarch, soon after its conclusion.[25] Grounded upon these arguments, la Harpe called upon his countrymen to vindicate their established right; to demand a convocation of the states, and, if refused, to claim the guarantee of the French republic, which, as representative of the monarch, and by its late conquest of the dutchy of Savoy, would think itself bound to espouse their cause.

Various writers have denied the facts alleged by la Harpe,

he had no better voucher than a written document in the archives of the Baron of Blonay, the validity of which has been called in question by N. F. de Mulinen in his *Récherches historiques sur les anciennes Assemblées du Pays de Vaud.* In this, as in many other diplomatic disquisitions, the more a matter is investigated, the more it is generally involved in obscurity. Mulinen's pamphlet, however, has hitherto remained unanswered.

[23] Of October the 19th, 1530. [24] October the 30th, 1564.

[25] Charles the Eleventh. April the 25th, 1565.

CHAP. X.

and controverted the inferences he derives from them, even if they were founded in truth. The states at best, we are told by M. de Mulinen, were of feudal institution, and convened occasionally, not at the option of the people, but at the pleasure of the sovereign, who only called them together when his service required additional taxes. Whatever reservation the Duke of Savoy may have made in the last mentioned cession, the canton of Berne, he asserts, could never have violated this condition, since it never imposed a new tax: and he further maintains that, as appears from a variety of municipal constitutions in the country, no mention is ever made of this antiquated privilege. Granting, however, all that the advocates for the assembly of the states can allege in favour of the claim, it is manifest that the attempt to enforce it was a mere pretence, since the states at best would not be a representative body such as they demanded: and it must be owned that it was a strange prevarication in the French directory, who have sported with all the compacts of their monarchs,[26] to avail themselves in this instance of two obsolete treaties, in order to give a colour to the outrage they had in view. It would, no doubt, have better become the frankness, honour, and generosity of which they made such frequent and ostentatious boasts in their official writings, to have proclaimed that their motives were no other than those of self-interest; and that the preponderancy of power was the only title on which they founded their arbitrary interference.

Accepted.

The directory, on the twenty-eighth of December, issued a decree by which they declared the members of the regencies

[26] Witness the examples of the military capitulations, the Valteline, &c.

of Berne and Friburg personally and individually responsible for the lives, liberty, and property of all the Vaudese, who, claiming the return of their privileges, had placed themselves under the safeguard of the republic. A division of the army of Italy under general Massena advanced towards the confines of the canton; and the insurgents, seeing the certainty of effectual protection, increased considerably both in number and audacity.

Had the government of Berne, at this crisis of an impending invasion, which in all former instances had been the signal of a general armament of the whole nation, combined all its powers, and resolved unanimously, if they could not weather the storm, at least to fall in a manner worthy of their ancestors, they might still, perhaps, have saved their independence and tottering constitution. But, instead of the firmness and wisdom the times required, they unfortunately betrayed an inconsistency and hesitation, which, while it stimulated their adversaries, disheartened and perplexed the multitude of friends who were still ready to lay down their lives in defence of their venerable constitution. Like the helpless squirrel, which (if travellers may be credited) is fascinated by a voracious serpent, and struggles for a while with anxious trepidation to escape the charm, but is at length compelled to rush into the jaws where it meets its doom: so did these misguided rulers shew themselves incapable of adopting any but false measures, which ultimately accelerated their destruction.

Berne temporizes.

The supreme council of Berne sent another special commission into the Pays de Vaud, to investigate the causes of the discontents, to ascertain their full extent, and to suggest such means as might appear most conducive to restore tran-

CHAP. X.

quillity. Whether the evil had not yet made any considerable progress, or whether the commissioners suffered themselves to be beguiled by false appearances or representations, they made so favourable a report, that the council thought it expedient to propose a general oath of allegiance to the sovereign. The event proved less successful than was expected, and produced an open breach, which, had the government been wise, it would by all means have endeavoured to conceal.[27] A party of insurgents from Vevay, proceeded so far as to seize the castle of Chillon, in which some of the former agitators were still detained; and this day, the tenth of January, may (like that of the demolition of the Bastille in France) be deemed the first of the Helvetic revolution. Popular clubs, committees of safety, and national guards were instituted; and abundance of inflammatory publications were scattered among the people: but still, in the midst of these commotions, no mention was yet made of a separation from the parent canton.

1798.

Diet at Arau.

Another expedient, which had the semblance of vigour, was about the same time recurred to, with a view of calling forth the united powers of the whole nation. A general diet was summoned at Arau for the solemn renewal of the confederacy; and it actually met on the second of January. Mengaud did not fail to resort to it, and, for a while, used the most conciliatory language; at the same time throwing a mysterious veil over the designs of France, which, as he probably

[27] The country people in general complied. At Lausanne about three-fourths of the citizens took the oath with enthusiastic alacrity: at Vevay, Aubonne, and Moudon, the municipal officers chiefly proved refractory, and no doubt influenced many, though far from the majority of the inhabitants. The battalions of Vevay, Aubonne, and one of Moudon, refused the military oath.

expected, afforded to many of the deputies, plausible pretences for procrastination, for palliative measures, and feeble propositions, the whole disguised under the specious mask of moderation. Mengaud soon perceived, and no doubt reported, the imbecility of this assembly, and was instructed to assume a less qualified line of conduct; and he accordingly, on the eleventh of January, presented a note declaring, 'that should 'the report be confirmed that Austrian forces had entered the 'Grison country, a body of French troops would likewise im-'mediately pass the frontiers.' This ambiguous menace (for no Austrians had trespassed on their confines) filled the assembly with doubt and consternation. Some surmised that the two contracting powers had, in the treaty of Campo Formio, with the same regard to equity, honour, and the faith of compacts, with which they had annihilated the ancient republic of Venice, decreed the partition among themselves of the Helvetian territories. Others saw manifestly that France was seeking a pretence for subverting their constitution: few were impressed with a sense of the undaunted firmness that now became them: and all looked forward with dread to the unravelling of the enigma, which they were well apprized had not been thrown out without some view. In this state of doubt and perplexity they resolved indeed (Basle only excepted, which had already withdrawn its deputies) to renew the perpetual confederacy, and to attest it by a solemn oath. This oath was actually taken on the first of February; but it was not such an oath as had been pronounced by Stauffacher, Furst, and Melchthal, and their thirty friends, in the field Rutli, when they swore to live free, or not to live at all.

Revolution at Basle.

The recall of the deputies of Basle from the diet at Arau,

CHAP. X.

was the consequence of the first public defection of a member of the confederacy. The almost constant residence of Mengaud in this city, had supplied him with numbers of opportunities, which he well knew how to improve, to bias the minds of men whom ambition, avarice, or fear had already estranged from the true patriotism which had rendered their confederacy respectable among nations. Like the Pays de Vaud, it harboured likewise in its bosom, domestic promoters of sedition, who were equally zealous and industrious in propagating their revolutionary principles. Wernard Huber, an apothecary and chemist of some eminence, who, in his youth, having misconceived some of the specious doctrines of Rousseau, had for a while misapplied his more than ordinary talents in the profession of a swine-herd, was now become one of the most prolific writers in the cause of the new system of politics; and reprobating every impediment that might check the progress of *his* favourite career, was particularly acrimonious against the British government, and its representative with the cantons, to the supposed corrupt practices of whom he imputed all the calamities that had of late befallen his country, not even excepting a contagious disorder among the cattle, which at that time prevailed in most parts of Swisserland. Vischer, le Grand, and Erlacher were, though not so conspicuous, yet no less fervent, in the cause of political innovation; and formed at Basle a club of *friends of liberty*, which soon conferred some consequence on the party and its leaders. But among the latter none exerted himself with so much ardour and success as the grand tribune Peter Ochs, who, although a warm friend and near relation of the unfortunate burgomaster Dietrich of Strasburg, who had fallen a victim to the revolution, although impoverished by the heavy

losses he had sustained in the French funds, was nevertheless, having some cause of complaint against the government of Berne, an indefatigable promoter of the levelling system.[28] He and the above mentioned senator Visher, likewise his relation, ventured now openly to propose a change in the constitution; and deeming the triumph of France highly conducive to his purpose, the tribune in particular became the principal instrument in bringing about the Prussian and Spanish treaties with the

[28] The temper of this demagogue displayed itself in a letter he wrote towards the end of January to the magistrates of his city. Having premised the usual stile of, 'Most honourable and gracious lords,' he continues, 'Perhaps this is the last time 'your excellencies will hear yourselves addressed by these antiquated titles; and I must 'confess that I am truly happy, to exchange these vain denominations for the far more 'graceful appellation of citizen.

'I consider the Helvetic revolution as completed. The several cantons, their sub-'jects, and their allies, will soon be formed into one democratic republic, according to 'the representative system. All the means hitherto attempted to repress the revolution 'may perhaps for a while retard its progress, and render the crisis more dangerous 'and afflictive; but they will certainly not prevent the completion of it.'

He then congratulates his canton in having been the first to set the example of a revolutionary spirit; he exhorts the insurgents to persist, and denounces vengeance against all those who shall venture to impede them. He taxes the diet at Arau with having unwarily disappointed the expectations of the true patriots: and prescribes the steps to be immediately taken, viz. 1. To abolish all distinctions of freemen and subjects; 2. to establish primary assemblies for the choice of representatives; 3. that these representatives prepare a new constitution; and 4. that meanwhile a provisionary commission be authorized to carry on the immediate purposes of government. He then concludes,

'Perhaps I am now, by this decided declaration, increasing the multitude of 'charges that have been brought against me by the aristocratic party for these ten 'years past, and for which they have ever sought to be revenged: but in proportion 'as I find myself persecuted by such men, so does the estimation in which I hold 'myself rise in my bosom.'

This letter, printed separately, was dispersed all over the canton of Basle, and soon found its way throughout the territories of the confederacy.

CHAP. X.

French republic. Having been sent to Paris on a public mission, he there concerted with La Harpe, and other malcontents from the Pays de Vaud, and jointly with them framed a new constitution, which, without the least retrospect to the difference and variety of local, moral, and political circumstances, was meant to be enforced in Swisserland by an host of armed apostles.

Ochs, and his co-operators, were well acquainted with the impatience with which a great part of the peasantry of Basle bore, what had been represented to them as an intolerable aristocratic servitude; and among these, accordingly, appeared the first symptoms of an open resistance to the established authorities. The artless peasants had been persuaded that they were not free, because they were not admissible into the supreme council, because they could not practise trades within the city, and because they were restrained from planting trees of liberty at their pleasure. Le Grand, and others of the democratic party, were deputed to appease them: but these assisted them in drawing up three fundamental points, the acceptance of which was to be the basis of an accommodation. They previously declared that the people would ever consider themselves as a part of the Swiss nation: but in return claimed, 1. an unqualified admission of liberty and equality, and the inalienable rights of men; and hence the introduction of a representative government: 2. an intimate union between the citizens and peasantry founded on the principle of perfect equality: and 3. a speedy convocation of a national assembly. This declaration of rights[29] having been signed by seven of

[29] They actually gave it the name of *Magna Charta*, and prefixed to it the high sounding expletives, liberty, equality, unanimity, confidence.

the leaders, was, by a numerous band of the peasants who had previously destroyed most of the castles of the bailiffs, conveyed into the city; and, on the twentieth of January, it was accepted by the expiring magistracy, who instantly recalled their deputies at Arau, suffered a tree of liberty to be planted with great exultation in the city, and on the fifth of February resigned their authority to a deputation of sixty, selected from all ranks, who, under the direction of a president, were to hold the reins of government until the new constitution, founded upon the principles of the Magna Charta, should have acquired its due consistency. Thus was Basle the first branch which dropped off from the venerable tree of the Helvetic confederacy, and gave an example which others soon followed with as much levity as infatuation.

The French take the Erguel;

The plausible insinuations of Ochs and his associates, and the alternate threats and blandishments of Mengaud, would perhaps have been less effectual towards producing this defection, had not French forces spread all around the canton, and offered a sure protection to all who were inclined to favour the revolution. The county of Porentru, taken a few years before from the see of Basle, having been formally ceded to France by the treaty of Campo Formio, was now converted into a department by the name of Mont Terrible: but the Bishop of Basle still retained the Erguel, bordering on the canton of Berne, and avowedly within the limits of the Helvetic republic. Regardless however, of this title to security, and without assigning the most slender motive, the French general, St. Cyr, entered it suddenly towards the end of the preceding year, took possession of it in the name of the republic, declaring, that France succeeded now to all the

CHAP. X.

property, domains, rights, and prerogatives of the prelate. Upon this ground the general even seized the episcopal palace at Basle, which necessarily introduced French troops into that city.

and Mulhausen.

The small republic of Mulhausen, one of the allies of the confederacy, being surrounded on all sides by the French department of the Upper Rhine, saw itself compelled by its locality, but not till after two years of blockade and famine, to demand the protection of, and, on certain conditions, to be incorporated into, the French commonwealth. Thus was Helvetia, on this side also, deprived of a territory of upwards of two hundred and fifty square miles in extent, and containing between twenty and thirty thousand inhabitants; and Berne saw a frontier of near twenty miles laid open to the French. In the days of Winkelried, and the great Erlach, an insult of far less magnitude would have instantly roused the whole nation into arms; and, with these united arms, it would either have perished, or compelled redress.

Revolution at Zuric;

The borderers on the lake of Zuric now acted the part, respecting this canton, which the peasants of Basle had done towards their government. Some symptoms of disaffection had long since appeared among this people, especially among the opulent manufacturers of the rich town of Stæfa: but because no foreign abettors were at hand, the disturbance was soon quelled, and, except a few fines and imprisonments, no rigour was exerted against the insurgents. Some of them however, who had fled into foreign countries, returned about this time, and brought with them promises of support, which soon excited fresh troubles. The government, in order to pacify them, granted certain demands, released eleven of the

former insurgents, and even returned some of the fines. Bodmer, an aged inhabitant of Stæfa, a man of great authority among his neighbours, was of the number of the discharged prisoners; but though pardoned, he could not forgive the sentence that had been pronounced against him. The rejoicings all along the lake, on this occasion, were excessive, and ominous of the short duration of the new order of things. Bodmer, and a few leading associates, established central committees, and in their name demanded the redress of some further grievances, and above all, an extension of their privileges. Having made a few concessions, the government now issued a strict order for a general armament, which instantly gave rise to fresh remonstrances and discontents. The borderers in particular (whom the French soon after found it necessary to disarm) shewed themselves the least disposed to co-operate towards the preservation of the country, and still pressed for a thorough reform in the government: and the supreme council, at length, seeing no other means of restoring tranquillity, agreed to an extraordinary convention of one hundred members, chosen out of all the different ranks, to whom was committed the charge of new-modelling the state. These drew up a set of articles, similar to the Magna Charta of Basle, which was ratified by the burgomaster, great and little councils, and the body of citizens; and by virtue of these, the old magistracy retained only the temporary and feeble authority of a provisionary government. These, jointly with the convention, attempted once more to call forth the contingent for the defence of the country, but collected only a small and dispirited number; the summons being in general answered by proposals for fresh emendations: nor were the

CHAP. X.

troubles at all allayed by the ready and unqualified concessions of the various momentary magistracies that were successively attempted.[30]

at Lucern, Shaffhausen, &c.

Similar revolutions, rather the effect of imitation and the pusillanimity of the rulers than of necessity or compulsion, took place about the same time in various other cantons. Lucern confirmed a Magna Charta on the thirty-first of January. Shaffhausen planted the tree of liberty on the eighth of February; and Soleure, not without much opposition on the part of a numerous nobility and clergy, and even of the generality of the country people, issued, on the eleventh of the same month, a declaration, asserting the liberty and equality of all ranks in the community. At Friburg the parties ran high; but neither of them obtained any decisive advantage. In the small cantons, the friends of innovation were not numerous enough to effect a change; and the magistrates, uninfluenced by fear, did not see how they could possibly revolutionize their governments into a more democratic form. They did not, however, hesitate fully to emancipate their subject bailiwicks, on whose inhabitants they conferred equal rights with their own people; and thus did the Thurgau, the Marches, Sargans, and the Rheinthal, receive an extension of

[30] Leonard Meister, a professor at Zuric, has published a tract, *on the Progress of the Political Commotions in Swisserland,* Zuric, 1798, 8vo. in which he displays, and labours covertly to justify, the series of new plans for a reform of government, proposed by different clubs and associations in his canton, which they always brought forward in answer to the urgent solicitations of the magistrates to march to the relief of Berne. These sorry politicians thought it, no doubt, wise to insist upon repairing a house which was on fire. 'Ita res se habet, ut plerumque, qui fortunam mutaturus 'est Deus, consilia corrumpat, efficiatque, quod miserrimum est, ut casus in culpam 'transeat.' Vel. Paterc. Hist. Rom. ii. 118.

privileges which it had been better had they always possessed them. The Abbot of St. Gallen saw himself compelled to grant valuable immunities to his subjects of the old district[31] and Tockenburg: and, such is at times the infatuation of men, that even the inferior clergy of the lower Valais were not deterred by the example of their brethren in France, who, by counteracting their higher orders, brought on their own ruin, from joining the disaffected in their districts, who, in vain however for the present, strove to effectuate a revolution.

Thus was the old venerable confederacy now virtually dissolved. The deluded advocates of innovation prognosticated that by thus approximating to the French form of government, they should deprecate the violence with which they had been threatened; and, at least, obviate the greatest calamity that could befal their country, the invasion of a foreign army: and they vainly augured that it was now needless for them to arm at all. The promoters of these partial revolutions flattered themselves that, if the directory should have recourse to any compulsive means, it would be individually in their favour, and in order to raise them to the pre-eminent stations, at which they were ambitious to arrive. Vain hopes! fifty thousand bayonets soon proved the directory to be well apprized that this, once happy, country possessed public treasuries, opulent families, numerous arsenals; and, above all, that it was a country whence they would be enabled to awe most of the great powers of Europe, and from which, as they had learnt from long experience, they might derive the best reinforcements to their armies. These, and by no means the modifications of the

[31] *Alte Landschafft*; the peculiar domain of the abbot round the city.

CHAP. X.

governments, or the futile cause of a few turbulent insurgents, were the real objects of the depredators, who had industriously fomented these disorganizing conflicts.

Conduct of Berne.

The canton of Berne, till now the pillar of the confederacy, and the main, at least at this time, the ostensible object of the French revolutionary projects, seeing itself now surrounded by dangers, openly deserted by some of its allies, dubious of the intentions of others, with two formidable armies pressing hard upon its frontiers, harassed moreover by some of its own members, and divided in its councils, pursued measures which were alternately feeble and audacious, often contradictory, and at all times undecided. Those among its rulers who were impressed with the remembrance of the untarnished glory of their ancestors, and of the trophies of Sempach, Laupen, Granson, and Morat, and thought they ought not to survive their independence, prevailed for a while, and obtained a decree for sounding a general alarm throughout the Helvetic states, and arming the nation. Abundance of loyal addresses came from all parts of their canton, especially from the Oberland; and multitudes flocked to the capital, animated with an ardent zeal for their country's cause, and fully bent to maintain, at the hazard of their lives, the constitution under which they had prospered for so many centuries. The other cantons, as might have been expected, proved remiss; and some of them, being jealous of the preponderancy Berne had long maintained, were utterly averse to contribute to its defence, in which they were not aware how much their own security was implicated.

Colonel Weiss was, at this crisis, sent into the Pays de Vaud with dictatorial powers, and ordered to suppress the

central club at Lausanne, and the various committees in the other towns, to repossess himself of the castle of Chillon, and to proclaim martial law throughout the country.[32] This semblance of severity soon provoked a resistance, which the malcontents well knew would be vigorously seconded by the forces that now lined the frontiers: but, what far exceeded their expectation, even the diet that was still sitting at Arau, sent a messenger to Berne, earnestly recommending the repeal of the martial law, and exhorting the government to comply, as far as possible, with the wishes of the people. Under these circumstances, the feeble exertions of colonel Weiss,[33] and the approach of a body of troops from Berne, rather served to irritate than to allay the spreading spirit of insubordination. The colonel had now recourse to alternate expedients of ill-timed menaces and compliance: he endeavoured to sooth some with promises and commendation, and to intimidate others by a denunciation of immediate punishment. He boasted of his long and meritorious services, of his love of liberty, and his tenderness for the prosperity of the people. He wandered from place to place; and at length, finding his residence at and near Lausanne equally unprofitable and irksome, he fixed his head quarters at Yverdun, where he finally published his well-known exhortation to his countrymen,[34] in which,

[32] The martial law, though decreed, was, in fact, never proclaimed.

[33] The colonel, in this critical juncture, having received peremptory orders to proceed without delay to suppress the revolutionary club at Lausanne, and to put the Pays de Vaud in a state of defence, rem ained four days at Moudon to finish his tract, *Reveillez vous Suisses*; and employed a whole week, after his arrival at Lausanne, in correcting the sheets of that publication.

[34] It can hardly be necessary to repeat that this was his boasted parænesis *Reveillez vous Suisses.*

CHAP. X.

among abundance of declamation, he advanced truths, which at another time would probably have made considerable impression upon minds not absolutely predisposed to reject their evidence.[35]

Encouraged by such prospects of success, the numbers of disaffected increased sufficiently to induce them to take up arms, and declare their country independent of the canton of Berne. They seized all the funds destined for public uses; expelled the bailiffs from their various castles and jurisdictions; and sent to the French commander requesting that he would take effectual measures to rid the country of the Bernese troops that still remained among them. General Menard, who had now taken the command of the division of Massena, was impatiently expecting a requisition of this nature; and without delay sent, on the twenty-fifth of January, his adjutant Autier, with a written message to colonel Weiss, declaring that unless he immediately evacuated the whole district which had now asserted its independence, he would instantly compel him to it at the head of his division. Autier, travelling in a carriage, was attended, not by a trumpet as is usual on similar occasions, but by two French hussars, and two Vaudese dragoons. On entering the village of Thierens, not far from Yverdun, he was suddenly shot at by two sentries stationed at this post, and in the fray that ensued the two hussars were killed. The Swiss who relate this encounter assert that the patroles having, in

Autier's repulse.

[35] The whole tenor of Weiss's conduct has to many appeared ambiguous; and he has been described as a man of more vanity than wisdom and true patriotism. He printed in April last a laboured vindication of his conduct entitled, *Du début de la revolution Suisse: ou défense du cy-devant general de Weiss contre ses détracteurs.* We expect to have the thanks of our readers for not entering into this tedious controversy.

the dusk of the evening, challenged the unknown passengers, had, instead of an answer, received several cuts from the sabres of the hussars, by which one of the men had been severely wounded; and that this man, not being able to resist the provocation, had fired his musket, and thus given rise to the skirmish. As this affray gave the first shadow of pretence to the hostilities immediately after commenced by the French, the government of Berne instituted a formal inquiry into the circumstances attending it; and it cannot be doubted that, in the perilous state in which they found themselves, they would have inflicted some exemplary punishment on the two sentinels, had they been any way delinquent. No fact seems better attested than that these men were not the aggressors; and yet the French laid hold of this pretended outrage to justify their long premeditated invasion. Autier returned hastily to his head quarters; and general Menard on the next day led his troops into the Pays de Vaud. The executive directory sent, on the fifth of February, a message to the legislative assembly, stating the particulars of this transaction, in a manner which could leave no doubt of the steps that would be taken to avenge the insult.

Delegates assembled at Berne.

No deliberation in the council of Berne was perhaps ever so momentous as the present, when the very existence of the state seemed to depend on the resolutions now to be taken. A few, even among the most zealous but dispassionate patriots, who perceived that nothing short of absolute submission would satisfy the avidity of the invaders, and who were not blinded concerning their inadequate means of resistance, were of opinion that the hour was now come, when a voluntary and unconditional surrender would be the best policy: but in this

CHAP. X.

the prevailing party was far from coinciding. Full of confidence in the numbers they had collected, and in the loyalty and courage their people had at all times manifested; auguring also that the extravagant demands of the French plenipotentiaries at the congress of Rastadt would ere long give rise to a new coalition, which, now that the danger had reached them, they would gladly have joined; they obtained a decree for a further prosecution of vigorous measures, or at least to persist in asserting their independence. Not long before Menard's open invasion, the council of Berne, with a view to inspire confidence, and engage the affections of the people, had called together delegates from all the German districts of the canton, in order to consult with them on the present urgent emergency, and to assist in digesting a plan for new modelling the constitution into a representative form, not doubting that this compliance would avert the enmity of the regenerated nation. This deputation, jointly with the council, two days before Autier's repulse,[36] issued a proclamation couched in the most pathetic language, stating the great accession of vigour the state had acquired by the present unanimity of its members, acknowledging some defects in the constitution, and promising a speedy and effectual reform of all abuses. Having at the same time relinquished all hostile attempts upon the Pays de Vaud, and vainly conceiving that they had complied with all France could demand of them; they wrote to the executive directory claiming a return of friendship and confidence, and demanding that, after this happy reconciliation, the troops of the republic might be ordered to withdraw from the

[36] February the third. This address was at the time considered as a most impressive exhortation, from which great effects were expected both at home and abroad.

Helvetic territories. Mengaud, to whom they sent a deputation of the same tendency, eager to counteract the salutary effects which the conciliatory declaration of this new government might produce upon the people, sent a peremptory demand of redress for certain insults the partizans of France had sustained in the town of Arau; and moreover that the whole government of Berne, even with the modifications lately introduced, should, unconditionally and without delay, resign its authority, and make room for a provisionary council, from which the old magistrates should be excluded. He added that the rejection of this proposal would be the signal for the march of the French troops to the capital of Berne.[37]

Plan of a new Constitution.

In order the more effectually to promote the object of his mission, Mengaud distributed in great abundance, and in different languages, a plan for a new Helvetic constitution, which, according to the French, Cisalpine, and Batavian standard, was to be one, indivisible, purely democratic and representa-

[37] Mengaud thought it no doubt a humorous piece of pleasantry to parody the Creed in the following manner. 'I believe in one indivisible constitution; conceived with 'joy in the bosoms of all sound patriots of Helvetia; born of freedom, which had 'suffered under the oligarchies, and had been depressed in the principal regions of 'Swisserland: but after three centuries, it rose again from the dead; ascended into 'the hearts of the regenerated Helvetians; from whence it will come to take vengeance 'of the tyrants, their fellow citizens. I also believe with great confidence in a general 'patriotic assembly of the Swiss; a communion of select, well-disposed, free-minded 'citizens of the thirteen cantons and their allies; the remission of all oppressive taxes; 'the resurrection of all the natural rights of men; and a perpetual freedom and 'equality of the people.' Mengaud circulated likewise a similar parody of the Lord's prayer. He appears throughout to have been a man devoid of all principle. M. Mallet du Pan saw him arrive at Zuric with a German prostitute, the sister of a carrier, who acted as his interpreter: and yet this man in his official papers boasted of his virtue, his morals, his loyalty, and of the respect that was due to his character.

CHAP. X.

tive ; the whole country being for this purpose distributed into twenty-two departments, of which the boundaries were accurately defined. The Swiss thought they might still be permitted to canvass a proposal which so immediately and so essentially concerned them. Some of the most sagacious among them foreboded, that this new constitution would inevitably prove highly detrimental, if not ruinous, to the whole nation. 'Our country,' they said, 'craggy and barren in most 'parts, can only secure itself against the convulsions of nature 'to which we are incessantly exposed, by a great frugality in 'the government, and an absolute exemption from taxes. The 'great economy of our administrators has hitherto admitted 'of this exemption : but how shall we provide for the salaries 'and gratuities of directors, representatives, and the multitude 'of substitutes the new constitution will require ? How shall 'we pay and maintain the army this constitution necessarily 'demands ? an army, the sole purpose of which will be to in-'volve us in foreign wars. A country,' they added, 'like ours, 'divided by deep chasms and enormous precipices, containing 'a people so various in language, cultivation, and manners ; is 'such a country calculated for an indivisible and close union, 'such as is prescribed by this constitution ? is not the fœde-'ration that has till now held us together the only tie that 'suits our sequestered districts ? will the democratic cantons 'patiently exchange their domestic, parental governments, for 'the mere passive right of electing representatives to a distant 'convention ? and will not, after all, this code, constructed at 'Paris, manifestly not for our advantage, convert our country, 'as it has done Holland and Lombardy, into a mere tool in 'the hands of the French directors, who know that they may

'better influence a national assembly, than the four and twenty 'sovereignties of which our country has till now consisted?'

The government of Berne, at the same time that it sent to Mengaud, deputed also the treasurer Frishing, a constant advocate in favour of the neutrality, and the senator Tscharner, to general Brune, who now commanded the French army in the Pays de Vaud, to solicit the privilege of reforming their constitution without a total revolution, or the interference of foreign power. The general, who expected considerable reinforcements, and a co-operating army from the bishoprick of Basle, held a conciliatory language; but pretended a deficiency in his instructions for a negociation of this nature, which however he intimated would undoubtedly be removed by the fresh orders he should demand from his directory. Meanwhile he proposed an armistice of fourteen days, which was readily accepted, and concluded on the fifteenth of February, and was hence to expire at sun-set on the first of March. What degree of confidence the government of Berne placed in the professions of Brune it is needless to inquire, since they could not be blind to the necessity of preparing against an attack: and, confiding no doubt in the justice of their cause, buoyed up also by the alacrity and enthusiasm displayed by their people, and still looking for a new coalition of the sovereigns whose thrones were menaced with destruction, they resolved, with more courage than probability of success, to bid defiance to a power which, after six bloody campaigns, had triumphed over most of the great potentates of Europe, and now possessed an army of four hundred thousand intrepid and well disciplined soldiers, who considered themselves as the conquerors of Europe; whose rapid career, neither the tactics of the best

An Armistice.

CHAP. X.

trained, nor the wild impetuosity of the half savage bands that were led out against them, had been able to impede; and for whom no craggy or snowy precipice had been inaccessible, and no torrent too wide or rapid.

Berne arms.

Some of the leaders at Berne, who were most indignant at the contemptuous treatment they had met with from the French emissaries, and dreading the underhand practices of that wily as well as enterprizing people, urged the necessity of making a speedy appeal to the sword. Among these was the veteran d'Erlach, formerly a general in the French service, and now commander in chief of the Bernese forces. On the twenty-sixth of February he came to the great council, demanded full powers to act according to the exigencies of the times, and was, without much opposition, authorized to pursue, immediately after the termination of the armistice, such measures as should to him appear most eligible. He accordingly arrayed all the forces that had been collected, consisting of about twenty-two thousand men, and formed a plan for a general attack in the night, between the first and second of March. He distributed the army into three grand divisions, forming a line near one hundred miles in length, from Soleure on the right, along the Aar and the lakes of Morat and Neuchattel, as far as Friburg, which city covered the left. The colonels Buren, Graffenried, and Wattewille commanded severally these divisions, each of which, subdivided into columns, had its particular destination in the grand atack that was to be made in concert on all the posts of the enemy. A detachment stationed in the valley of Ormont, was at the same time to fall upon Aigle, and proceed from thence to Vevay, in order to harass the rear of the invaders.

At the same meeting of the council however, which granted these powers to Erlach, appeared an adjutant from general Brune, who announced that his chief, having received unlimited authority to treat for an accommodation, desired that the government of Berne would send to him deputies equally authorized for that purpose. Frishing and Tscharner were accordingly once more deputed, and met the general at Payerne, to which place he had advanced his head quarters. The conditions he here prescribed as an ultimatum were, 1. The abdication of the present magistrates, and a provisionary government to be invested with powers to frame a new constitution, founded on the principles of liberty and equality: 2. all persons confined for political opinions to be immediately released: and 3. all the troops, as well of Berne as of the other confederate states, to be dismissed without delay. These terms being complied with, he engaged to withdraw his forces, and that no French soldier should ever after enter the Helvetic territories, *unless required by the new magistracy.* An answer was demanded in four and twenty hours, nearly the term at which the armistice was to expire. On dismissing the deputies, Brune published a proclamation, couched in the most conciliatory language; calling upon the people to lay down their arms; and protesting that they had nothing to fear for their personal safety, their religion, or their political independence, all which he solemnly declared his government guaranteed to them without reservation. 'Be free,' he concluded, 'the 'French nation invites you to it: nature ordains it.' Mengaud at the same time addressed to the people a severe philippic against their oligarchies, protesting that he was holding to them the language of simple truth; and uttering warm effu-

Brune's Ultimatum.

CHAP. X.

sions of tenderness and commiseration; 'we offer you peace,' he subjoins, 'why will you have war?' Deputies from Basle were also ready at Berne to offer their mediation; and they insinuated that Zuric, Lucern, and Shaffhausen concurred with them in recommending a speedy compliance.

The firmness of the magistrates forsook them on being apprized of these occurrences; or rather the minority, which favoured revolutionary principles, availing itself of the absence of Erlach, and a great number of officers who were likewise members of the council, prevailed, and obtained a repeal of the full powers that had been granted to their general. They moreover decreed the abdication of the government, and sent a deputation to Brune to make a tender of this abject submission.

Erlach had completed his arrangements for the general attack, which was intended for the second of March at four in the morning, when he received the fatal countermand, which in fact deprived him of his authority. Thunderstruck at the unexpected intelligence, he flew to Berne, and endeavoured to obtain a repeal of the disgraceful surrender. Failing of success, he hastened back to the army, where the suspension of command, the reports of the fluctuations in the government, and the suspicions that had been industriously spread among the men of the treachery of their leaders, had excited a spirit of insubordination, which soon broke out into acts of mutiny, and spread confusion throughout the ranks. Though himself oppressed with grief, and fired with indignation, he yet soothed, he argued, he promised to lead to the enemy, and still laboured to support the drooping spirits of his officers.

When the ignominious deputation from Berne arrived at the head quarters of Brune, he had already received intelligence of the arrival of general Schawemburg in the bishoprick of Basle, with a force which rendered him far superior to the enemy he now determined to encounter. The object of the truce was, no doubt, the obtaining time for securing this ascendency, which was moreover greatly increased by the arrival of an ample train, particularly of horse-artillery, which had hitherto been unknown to the Swiss in their internal wars. Brune being now also apprized of the pusillanimity of the magistrates of Berne, and of the state of insubordination of their troops, scorned the proffered submission, and demanded an immediate dismissal of the army, and in fact a surrender at discretion. All parties at Berne shuddered at this austere command; and the council re-assembling, issued a fresh order for the attack, at the hour and according to the plan pre-concerted by Erlach.

A further Truce.

Brune, who probably wanted a further respite, sent to offer a prolongation of the truce for thirty hours, 'to afford time 'to the Berners,' as he expressed himself, 'to redress the in-'juries they had committed.'[38] The council of Berne, willing

[38] The evidence of this prolongation of the truce rests upon the positive expression of general Brune in his dispatch to the directory, of the 14 Ventose (4th March) in the words given in the text. As this extended the armistice to the morning of the 4th of March, and the French hence manifestly broke the engagement, there is no doubt but that the advocates for French fidelity will find some subterfuge for exculpating this base transaction. The counter-order of the council of Berne, however, which could have no ground but such a prolongation, is a corroborating proof of its having been conceded; and until some very convincing arguments can be adduced to invalidate these proofs, the French must submit to the reproach of having, in this instance, forfeited their honour. Posselt, with less candour than we have usually found

CHAP. X.

to grasp at every shadow of hope, sent, two hours after the last order had been dispatched, another injunction to postpone hostilities, and wait for the event of further negociations. The army upon this could scarce contain its indignation, and be restrained from acts of violence. Printed papers had been distributed by French emissaries among the men, to caution them against the treachery of their leaders, who, it was asserted, had sold them to France.[39] General mistrust and confusion pervaded all the ranks, which were not a little increased by intoxication, to which the men, invited by the country people, freely gave way in their frantic rage.

Hostilities begun.

Such was the state of the Bernese army, when, early on the second of March, Erlach, who was with the centre division near Morat, heard the report of cannon, and soon after received intelligence that both his wings had been attacked by the enemy. He learnt at the same time, that on the preceding night, even before the expiration of the first armistice, general Schawemburg had, by order of Brune, attacked the castle of Dornach, at the northern extremity of the canton of Soleure; the place near which, three centuries ago, the Swiss had fought their last battle in defence of their long contested liberty,[40] and at which they now spilt their first blood in support of their dear bought independence. After several repulses, the place surrendered on the ensuing day; and the

in his annals, takes no notice whatever of this breach of faith, nor even of the evidence contained in Brune's dispatch; an omission which, as he cannot but have known the fact, no doubt implies a strong symptom of conviction.

[39] Many of these papers were found upon the men, some of whom produced them in justification for their having assassinated their officers.

[40] See vol. ii. p. 69. No foreign army had from that day (July 22, 1499) until the present year ventured over the confines of Helvetia.

castle of Thierstein, likewise the seat of a bailiff of Soleure, fell into the hands of another detachment, not, however, until the governor had laid down his life in defence of the post committed to his charge.

Forty-six thousand French troops, of whom nearly one half had lately arrived from the Rhine, had availed themselves of the darkness of the night, and advanced upon the principal posts of the Swiss army, which, besides being beyond measure agitated, did not expect to be so soon engaged. Before day-break, on the second of March, a column, guided by some base traitors, invested the village of Lengnau, between Bienne and Soleure, where seven hundred and fifty Oberlanders made an obstinate defence against ten times their number of assailants; till, near two hundred of the former having been killed, and as many taken, the remainder retreated. The French column upon this proceeded to Soleure, and Schawemburg sent a summons to the commandant, threatening that, unless he instantly surrendered, no quarter would be given to himself, the garrison, or the inhabitants. The suddenness of the attack, and the timid indecision of the magistrates, soon compelled a surrender, on a formal capitulation, that the security of persons and property should remain inviolate. But this did not prevent four and twenty villages in the vicinity from being given up to plunder. The burghers were disarmed, and all conspirators detained in the prisons were set at liberty.

At the same hour that Lengnau was invested, another column of the French army, under general Pigeon, advanced upon Friburg, and, in the dark, surprised the outposts, which fell back into the city, and roused the magistrates, who, unsuspicious of so near an attack, were sunk in sleep. The summons,

CHAP. X.

as usual, were such as might be expected from an irritated sovereign to his rebellious subjects. The magistrates demanded a short respite in order to dismiss a body of Berners that had come to their assistance, and obtained an interval of only two hours. Meanwhile the alarm bells tolled in all the neighbouring villages, and a great number of peasants flocked into the city to reinforce the garrison. They recovered the arsenal, which the citizens who favoured the revolution had already seized; and a message was sent to Pigeon, that the magistrates, being overpowered by the people, were not at liberty to offer a capitulation. Some howitzers were upon this fired against the city; several houses were set on fire, a breach was made in the wall, and a few soldiers entered the town. The Berners, about fifteen hundred in number, perceiving that the fortifications were incapable of defence, and that no effectual resistance was intended by the magistrates, resolved to evacuate the place. They marched out with thirty cannon and about four thousand peasants, in sight of, and unmolested by, the enemy, and took post at the village of Saingines on the Sense, about nine miles from Berne, where they maintained themselves against repeated attacks. A provisionary government, elected by the districts of Friburg, immediately superseded the former magistracy; and the French seized all the arms, ammunition, and other effects, they chose to appropriate to their use.

The surrender of Soleure and Friburg, having exposed the Bernese army to the danger of being flanked and turned by the enemy, it became necessary to alter its position, and indeed to contract its front within a narrow space. The new line extended from Neweneck in the west, to Frauenbrunnen

on the north, of Berne, which, together with the intermediate posts of Laupen, Gumminen, Arberg, Frienisberg, and Shoepfen, covered the capital at the distance of nearly ten miles. A retreat before a foreign enemy within their country, of which the Swiss remembered no instance in their history, gave full scope to the fury or rather delirium of the troops. The division of Argau, unwilling to share any longer in the ignominy that tarnished their reputation, forsook the army, and repaired to their respective homes. General de Buren on the right, found it impossible to retain above one quarter of his division true to their standards. In the centre division the mutiny assumed a more sullen and ferocious aspect. Many of the battalions repaired to the posts they themselves thought fit to occupy; and hence all co-operation (the soul of military enterprize) was at an end. The left division, by the skilful conduct of colonel Watteville, had indeed, without much loss or insult, fallen back into the strong posts of Neweneck, Laupen, and Gumminen: but the disgrace of a retreat cast a gloom throughout the ranks, which the triumphant alacrity of their foes was not calculated to dispel. The auxiliaries from the other cantons,[41] considering themselves as a body of observation, and indeed instructed by their governments not to proceed far from their own frontiers, and to act solely on the defensive, kept at some distance in the rear, and separated soon after the discomfiture of the Bernese army. Thus termi-

The Swiss mutiny.

[41] Their whole number never exceeded five thousand five hundred men. The borderers on the lake of Zuric having refused to join, that canton did not supply more than fifteen hundred men. Lucern sent twelve hundred: the small cantons about four hundred each: but the latter had sent the main part of their force against the French, who now attempted their frontiers on the side of Italy.

CHAP. X.

nated the vain parade of the solemn oath of union lately pronounced at Arau.

On the third of March the council of Berne ordered a general alarm to be sounded throughout the country; and all the roads were soon filled with swarms of peasants, old men, boys, women, ill armed, without order, and uninstructed which way to direct their course. The magistrates, as if to render this semblance of vigour nugatory, completed at last what they had some time meditated; the final dissolution of their government: surrendering their authority to a body of men, hastily chosen by a tumultuous multitude, abundantly presumptuous, but unskilful and inexperienced, who, under the name of a *provisionary regency*, grasped the reins, relaxed and lacerated by the improvident hands to which they had hitherto been committed. Brune at this moment sent a formal summons to Berne. The confusion hereupon became extreme both in the army and the city. No one knew any longer whom to obey, or whom to assail; whether their magistrates, their officers, or the French. In the evening the divisions at Gumminen and Laupen quitted their posts, and hastened to the city. Throughout the night, all who retained any influence endeavoured to appease the men; but they, at day-break, surrounded their chiefs, the colonels Stetler and Ryhiner, and stabbed them with their bayonets. No sooner had they committed this atrocious act, but, stung with remorse, they returned to their stations, and soon after fought with matchless bravery.[42]

[42] On this day (March the third) the French demolished the ossuary of the Burgundians at Morat; and the directory, which reported the fact to the council of five hundred, mentioned, as a singular, and no doubt an ominous, coincidence, that it was destroyed by the battalions of the Cote d'Or (the descendants of the Burgundians)

CHAP. X.

The new regency, now that all hopes of success had vanished, gave orders for a general attack, which however, none believed to be meant in earnest, and few were willing to obey. The whole army was reduced to about fourteen thousand men. The posts at Neweneck and Gumminen were held by eight thousand, and these had above twice their number to contend with. The remainder had been collected at Frauenbrunnen; and Schawemburg, with eighteen thousand men (three times the number of the Berners) advanced with rapid strides against this feeble remnant of an host, which, if inspired with confidence, and suffered to exert its native vigour, would perhaps still have proved invincible.

No sooner had the provisionary regency established its destructive influence, or rather a perfect anarchy, at Berne, than the venerable avoyer Steiguer deposed the insignia of his office. Neither his precarious health, nor his advanced age,[43] nor yet the hopeless prospect before him, could deter him from joining the army. In the evening of the fourth he bid a long, and, as he might well forebode, an everlasting farewell to his native city; and, with a brother and some other relations, went forth to seek death in the ranks of his devoted countrymen. He joined Erlach at Frauenbrunnen.

Last Day of the Confederacy.

On the fifth, at one in the morning, general Rampon, who commanded the French on the right of their army, began a cannonade against, and soon after attacked, the posts at Laupen, Neweneck, and St. Gines. He not only experienced a

on the very day on which the battle of Morat had been fought. (Monit. March the 14th, 1798.) It happens however, unfortunately for the contrast, that this battle was fought on the 22d of June.

[43] He was in his 69th year.

CHAP. X.

vigorous resistance, but was even repulsed at the latter place. The other posts indeed yielded a while to superior numbers; but, being reinforced by fifteen hundred men, they renewed the action with an ardour worthy of the glorious times of the confederacy. They rushed headlong among the foe, and in a short time compelled them to repass the ravin of Neweneck, and to retreat near ten miles, with the loss of two thousand men, and the whole of their artillery. The Berners lost about eight hundred men in this encounter; and among the slain were found several women, who scorned to shun the perils to which their fathers, husbands, friends, and countrymen, exposed themselves.[44] This victorious column was now preparing to advance towards Friburg, when the events of the day, in another quarter, retarded its progress; and colonel Graffenried, who had fought with a heroism worthy of the old Helvetians, received orders about three o'clock, to desist from all further hostilities.

About five in the morning of this eventful day,[45] general Schawemburg attacked on a sudden the front and each flank of the post of Frauenbrunnen; the place where, in a horrid night, the Berners, above four centuries ago, had defeated the Cambrian Ap Griffith, and his terrific English bands. Two

[44] The French deny the fact of women having been found among the slain in the fields of battle (Monit. of the 6th of April, 1798); but the instance of veracity given in note 42, page 426, will not inspire us with great confidence in the truth of their assertions: and on the other hand, general Schawemburg, in his letter to general Jordy, of the tenth of September, giving an account of the extermination of the Underwalders, expressly acknowledges *that unfortunately many women had been cut to pieces in the havock at Stanz.*

[45] Erlach, at the dawn of day, told his aid-de-camp, 'My friend, I see the sun 'rising; but I shall not behold its setting.'

thousand horse assailed the Swiss, who had no cavalry to oppose; and what galled them far more, a numerous train of horse artillery, the first that had ever passed their frontiers, spread death and dismay throughout their ranks. The fierceness of the resistance was unexampled. Women, endeavouring to obstruct the effect of the artillery, are known to have placed themselves before the mouths of the cannon, and to have hung on the wheels in order to impede their progress. The diminished bands, seeing themselves on the point of being surrounded, fell back to the village of Urteren, where they stood a second conflict. Unable however to maintain themselves, they took post at the Grauholtz, an almost impenetrable pass, about four miles from Berne, where, their right being covered by a rock, and the left by a swampy wood, they hoped effectually to secure themselves by an abbatis in front. The struggle had been no where so obstinate, nor the carnage so great as at this post. At length however, an opening having been made in the abbatis by the artillery, and a party of the enemy having climbed up the rock, and turned the right flank of the Bernese infantry, they found this post no longer tenable. They fell back, but formed anew, and stood a fourth attack about a mile behind this last station; and notwithstanding their heavy losses, and their being exhausted with fatigue and want of sustenance, they yet fought a fifth time before the gates of Berne.[46] Men, women, children, and the cattle grazing on the meadows, fell promiscuously by the bayonets, sabres, and

[46] All the accounts of the French generals to their directory, acknowledge that in every action the Swiss fought *avec une rare bravoure, et un acharnement inconcevable*: and they express their surprise at the resistance made by a militia which, during three centuries, had scarce seen the face of an enemy within their confines.

CHAP. X.

cannon of the invaders: yet these victims belonged to a people who are said to have called in a foreign power to free them from the tyranny of an oppressive government.

Berne throughout this awful day, heard the incessant roar of cannon and musketry from various quarters, and saw the last disastrous conflict under its own walls. No preparations whatever had been made for the defence of the city. Horror and despair seized all the inhabitants. In this extremity the new regency, in its last agony, demanded a capitulation, or rather a safe-guard against the licentiousness of the victorious soldiers; and in the evening the city surrendered, without any terms but a mere gratuitous promise of protection for the persons and property of the citizens. A tree of liberty was soon after planted in the presence of general Brune. Frisching, although president of a new provisionary regency, yet a silent mourner over the calamities of his country, officiated at the inauguration. 'There,' said he, addressing the French general, 'there is your tree of liberty: may it bring forth 'wholesome fruit!'

About noon, when all hopes were relinquished by the terrified regents, they dispatched the fatal order to the divisions at Neweneck and Gumminen to abstain from all further hostilities. Some of these brave, and on that very day victorious, men, retreated to the city, and others bent their way towards their homes in the Oberland. The latter, frantic with rage and despair, fell upon their officers, slew their two adjutant-generals, Crousaz and Gumoens, and throughout the evening an epaulette was considered as a death-warrant. Among these leaders were also Steiguer and Erlach. The former, in disguise, and amidst intoxicated soldiers, peasants, and even

parties of light troops of the enemy, reached the lake of Thun on foot. Extreme lassitude compelled him to seat himself on the trunk of a tree, and there he slept a while. He then found means to cross the lake, and, still unknown, escaped the frenzy of the enraged villagers, and reached at length the canton of Underwalden; but he did not think himself secure until he entered the gates of the Austrian town of Bregenz.[47]

Erlach assassinated.

The fate of the unhappy Erlach was still less propitious, unless indeed he would have deemed it a calamity to survive the downfal of his country. A considerable number of arms, some artillery, and ample stores of ammunition and provisions, together with a treasure of about one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling, had, early in this year, been sent into the impregnable retreats of Hasli and the Oberland, as a depot in case of emergency. Thither Erlach resolved to speed his way, still hoping that he might collect a force sufficient to preserve some remnants of the now shattered republic. Being arrived at Musingen, about midway between Berne and Thun, he was recognized by some straggling soldiers, who immediately seized, tied, and placed him on a cart, meaning to convey him to Berne; but another party of infuriated soldiers and peasants soon after met the escort, fell upon the unhappy victim, and amid horrid screams and execrations, struck him with their hatchets and bayonets, and dispatched him. His wretched widow escaped a similar fate merely by a stupor, which for a time bereaved her of her senses. She took refuge in a solitude

[47] It will surely be unnecessary to vindicate this illustrious personage against the aspersions of a late writer, who does not even hesitate to accuse him of treachery. (Vid. Wood's View of the History of Swisserland, p. ii. c. 14.) None but this writer have represented him in that disgraceful light; and all others agree in bestowing the most unqualified encomium on his truly patriotic spirit, and heroic exertions.

CHAP. X.

at the upper extremity of the lake of Thun. The assassins having, on the following day, been interrogated concerning the motives of this atrocious deed, owned that some Frenchmen had shewn them letters which they assured them came from Erlach, in which he promised to betray his country, and to facilitate the defeat of his army. Mr. Mallet du Pan asserts this fact on indubitable authority, and at the same time records many instances of the devoted heroism of individuals, and especially of women and young girls, who fell in the several encounters. A senator blew out his brains rather than survive the freedom of his country; and upon the whole nothing appears more evident, than that the fall of the confederacy can by no means be ascribed to the degeneracy of the people.

Oppressive Conduct of the French.

The acts of violence exercised by the French soldiers in the city of Berne, were perhaps not more excessive than might have been expected from an army circumstanced like theirs: but the outrages committed in the surrounding villages, which they alleged were not included in the capitulation, far exceed what is usually related concerning the atrocities of a conquering army. Private insults however, soon made way for public depredations. Brune proceeded without delay to the seizures, which there is little doubt were the real motive of the aggression.[48] The public treasury, containing the accumulation of above a century of perfect tranquillity, prosperity, and strict economy,[49] the public store-houses and granaries,

[48] That these treasures were wanted, and actually applied, towards fitting out the Egyptian expedition, is a report corroborated by the coincidence of dates, and confirmed by the public avowal of the commissary Rouhieres, published in several of the French papers. Conf. vol. ii. p. 276. n. 38.

[49] Eight hundred thousand Louis in specie were said to have been found in this treasury; but this sum, there is reason to believe, was considerably exaggerated.

the arsenal, and whatever could be extorted from the patrician families, were all sequestered as a forfeit for the resistance that had been made, and carried away chiefly to Hunningen. Twenty millions of livres, three hundred cannon, forty thousand stand of arms, all the utensils for the foundery of cannon, were the principal articles of the rich booty: and the general having received intelligence of the depots that had been newly formed in the Oberland, succeeded by threats and promises, to obtain possession of this valuable accumulation. But, what the Swiss a few weeks before would have deemed an impossibility; and what, had it been offered, would have been resisted with the utmost rage and indignation,—*the nation was disarmed.*[50]

New changes at Zuric.

The terror of the French arms, far more than any grievances the people laboured under, soon spread riot and confusion throughout the cantons not yet subdued. At Zuric, even the provisionary government which had been established by the insurgents, could not prevent the further progress of faction and anarchy. On the seventh of March their Prefect Wyss arrived with the news of the surrender of Berne; and none doubted but that the period was now come when they also were to experience all the horrors of subjugation. The impending calamity produced a hasty accommodation among the contending parties. On the tenth they deposed the newly elected magistracy, and instituted a regency still provisionary, but verging still more towards the unlimited forms of a pure democracy. All parties now congratulated each other on the

[50] *Le desarmement des habitans se continüe dans toutes les parties de la Suisse occupée par les Français.* Vid. Monit. April the 5th. Some accounts say that the orders for this disarmament were not strictly executed.

CHAP. X.

return of perfect unanimity, and sent to Mengaud and Brune this peace offering of a new constitution, founded upon the immutable principles of liberty and perfect equality; to request the friendship of France; and to implore that no French troops might be sent upon their territories.

Conduct of the small Cantons.

The conduct of the small cantons, though in the end it availed them not, was yet far more consistent and dignified. The deputies of Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris, met at Brunen, the spot where, after the glorious day of Morgarten, their ancestors had solemnly sworn to the perpetual confederacy, and unanimously resolved to resist every attempt to introduce innovations among them. Appenzel, St. Gallen, and other small districts, were invited to accede, and they ostensibly complied. This firm determination was, no doubt, strengthened by motives of religion, which in the French nomenclature is scornfully denominated fanaticism. But, in fact, these plain unperverted shepherds, who feared God, and hence honoured those whom they deemed his ministers, saw distinctly that they could gain nothing by a revolution: they knew theirs to be the purest democracy that could possibly be effected, and they were conscious that they were the freest people upon earth. They deprecated a representative government, which ever has a bias towards aristocracy, and which they were aware would necessarily imply certain stipends; and they well knew that their very existence depended upon an absolute exemption from even the most moderate imposts. Their incorporation with neighbouring districts, they were persuaded would necessarily disturb the simplicity of their patriarchal governments, and hence they unanimously decided against the adoption of the indivisible

republic, the project of which had already been circulated among them. A declaration to this purpose, conceived in moderate but energetic terms, was dispatched to the French general. They received an answer expressive of friendship, and declaring that the French had no intention to molest them; but at the same time, an intimation was given them, that it was expected they would accept the new form of government, which it was determined should extend throughout Helvetia.

Brune, being apprised of the rooted aversion the democratic cantons harboured against a republic one and indivisible, promoted a plan, suggested by Castelaar, a citizen of Friburg, and Mangourit and Desportes, French residents, the former in the Valais, and the latter at Geneva, for the distribution of all Helvetia into three distinct commonwealths, the Rhodane, the Helvetian, and the Tellgauan.[51] This partition however, it was soon observed would have been liable to the main objection which had long been thought the principal blemish of the former constitution, *the want of a centre of union to combine all the parts, and direct them to one object.* Perhaps the project was a mere pretence to elicit the demand of an indivisible compact, which, being once held out as the basis of the new Helvetic constitution, would authorize the armed protectors of it to penetrate into the remotest corners of the country, where any opposition might be attempted against its establishment. Brune accordingly repealed the proclamation which enacted the three-fold governments that had already been organized in the Rhodane district, and issued orders for a meeting at Arau, of a national legislative assembly of the

[51] Rhætia did not yet enter into the plans of the French revolutionists.

CHAP. X.

Helvetic republic one and indivisible. This was the last public act of Brune in Helvetia. Satiated with blood and plunder, he repaired to Italy, to gather new laurels in the field of revolutionary conquest. He left Berne on the twenty-eighth of March; and the military command devolved on general Schawemburg, the officer who, when the Austrians, having surprised Kehl, were forcing the bridge across the Rhine, hastily collected a party of burghers of Strasburg, and with signal intrepidity repulsed the assailants. The civil power was vested in the hands of executive commissaries, who came with orders to organize Helvetia according to the new constitution: and here particularly begins the period of humiliation this inoffending people were destined to endure. Men of moderation and rectitude now asked; 'Where is this 'boasted independence the French government has so repeat-'edly pledged itself to insure to the Helvetic nations? What 'freedom has a people that is not allowed to form its own 'constitution? and is a stranger likely to be better acquainted 'than the people themselves, what constitution is best suited to 'their local, moral, and political circumstances?' The words, 'oligarchy and fanaticism, which must be crushed,' were general answers to these incontrovertible positions.

Le Carlier was the first commissary. 'It is you,' he intimated in his first proclamation, 'who must maintain your 'generous deliverers.' This extortionary maxim he indeed qualified by admitting that none but members of the former regencies should be made to contribute towards the indispensable subsidies. Meanwhile, without instituting any inquiry into the condition and circumstances of individuals, he seized horses, cattle, grain, and all manner of provisions, wherever

March 28.

CHAP. X.

he could meet with them; and the word, *requisition*, was now for the first time introduced into the Helvetic vocabulary. In a second proclamation he ordained the unconditional acceptance of the new constitution framed at Paris, and of late published in French and German; and into which no corrections, such as even Ochs, its reputed author, and other revolutionary patriots, had suggested, were suffered to be introduced. March 29.

This constitution, consisting of twelve articles, divided the whole country, including Rhætia (which it was now decreed should likewise be compelled into the indivisible union) into twenty-two departments, each of which was to send four senators and eight counsellors, to the legislative assembly at Arau, by whom a periodical choice was to be made of five directors, to whom the executive power was to be committed. Provision was to be made for a standing army, and also for the organization of a national militia, to be called together as occasion might require. The representatives of ten departments[52] met at Arau, under the protection of twelve hundred French grenadiers, and on the twelfth of April accepted and proclaimed this constitution. Twelve departments either hesitated, or positively rejected the summons; and yet the report to the directory at Paris was, that the nation had with great exultation celebrated the accomplishment of this happy revolution. The new Constitution.

Geneva, about this time under the influence of Desportes, of a blockade, of an impending famine, and of fifteen Geneva united to France.

[52] Argau, Basle, Berne, Friburg, Leman, Lucern, Oberland, Shaffhausen, Soleure, and Zuric. All the eastern parts of Swisserland were most obstinately averse to the proposed innovation.

CHAP. X.

hundred French soldiers, who, instead of marching through as had been previously agreed, established themselves in the city, appointed commissioners, who, after due deliberation, declared that great deference ought to be paid to the wishes of the great nation. The terms of an union, recommended by Desportes, were soon adjusted, and were formally accepted on the twenty-sixth of April; and thus ended the independence of this ever convulsive republic. The French agent wrote next day to the directory, that Geneva was in raptures at this happy change; and that the Genevan branch was now worthy to figure in the fasces of the great republic. He immediately dissolved two Jacobin clubs: they had been useful; but they might now prove dangerous.

War against the small Cantons.

The resolute determination evinced by the small cantons to abide by their ancient, free, democratic, and happy constitution, could by no means accord with the system of uniformity, into which, like the tyrant Procrustes, the French directory had resolved to model all the governments that fell within their grasp. This resistance was therefore at any rate to be surmounted; and Schawemburg, preparatory to the coercive

April 13.

measures he meant to take, published a declaration, strictly prohibiting all intercourse with the six small eastern cantons, St. Gallen and the smaller districts, and cutting off all supplies they had been accustomed to receive from the neighbouring more fertile regions. This, as in the war of Zuric in the fifteenth century, was a death-blow to these indigent shepherds, whose pastures affording them only cattle, milk, and cheese, left them destitute of many articles most necessary to their subsistence. The general entertained no doubt that this step would soon enforce compliance: and yet not

many days elapsed, before he found that he had been totally mistaken in his conjecture; this insulted people shewing a firm resolution not only to endure the horrors of distress and famine, if unavoidable, but even to counteract his inhuman purposes by forcing a way into the neighbouring valleys, and perhaps, should fortune favour their valour, to turn the tide of affairs in this degraded country, where, the practical comparison between the comforts the people had once enjoyed, and the vexations to which they were now incessantly exposed, had already excited general discontent. The French commander who reports this first aggression (the aggression of men whom without the least provocation he had resolved to starve) intimates, 'that the plan of these rude mountaineers 'was to make themselves masters of Lucern and Zuric, and 'thence to fall into the Argau, depose the directory, disperse 'the assembly, and thus bring about a counter-revolution, in 'which he is confident, from the language held by the arch-'fiend Pitt in the British parliament, and the frequent clan-'destine visits of Mallet du Pan at Zuric, that they expected 'to be effectually succoured by foreign powers.'

Mere defensive measures could now in fact no longer relieve this injured people; and nothing but a vigorous excursion could redress the sufferings under which they laboured. Accordingly they, without delay, advanced in two columns, the one on the right of the lake of Zuric to Rapperswyl and Feldbach, and the other on the left to the village of Richtenswyl, both threatening a joint attack on the city of Zuric. On the next day another column proceeded to the gates of Lucern, where, after declaring their intentions to be friendly and peaceable, they summoned the garrison, which instantly

April 28.

CHAP. X.

capitulated. They had not been long in the city, where they committed several excesses, before a report was spread that a French force was rapidly advancing. They hereupon evacuated the place, and withdrew to Kusnacht, between the lakes of Zug and Lucern.

The French general having been well apprized of these several movements, sent two columns under the generals
April 30. Nouvion and Jordy, the one to Zuric, and the other to Zug, which latter having reached its destination, was immediately presented with the keys of the city. On the same day, a French detachment also entered Lucern, and even obtained possession of the strong post at Kusnacht. Schawemburg came now himself to Zuric, and directed the march of two columns, which immediately advanced on each side of the lake. The
May 1. one on the left having reached the walls of Rapperswyl, heard a cry that the town was willing to surrender; upon which they ceased hostilities, and were advancing without caution towards the gates, when a battalion of Underwalden suddenly fired upon their rear, and threw them into some confusion. A severe conflict now ensued, in which the French were at first repulsed; but returning to the charge, they stormed the town, and took it.

A combat far more obstinate and destructive was at the same time fought on the opposite side of the lake. The French column which advanced along that shore, commanded by general Fressinet, encountered upwards of five thousand Swiss, occupying an advantageous post behind Richterswyl. The French attacked with their wonted fury, but were, at the first onset, repulsed into the village. Having been joined by four additional companies, they returned to the charge with

redoubled ardour, soon regained their position, and after a six hours struggle, they, with the aid of some artillery, at length overpowered their obstinate opponents. The French commander acknowledged that this was the most severe conflict he had ever witnessed, and 'that every Swiss soldier fought like a 'Cæsar.' Above three hundred Swiss fell in the field: three of their officers perished under their banners. Colonel Paravicini, who led on the men of Glaris, having been severely wounded, quitted the field, and with his followers retired into his valley. The Schwitzers under colonel Reding retreated step by step, incessantly contending with their relentless foe. On the subsequent day, they stood another conflict; and at length, repelled May 2. though not discomfited, they took refuge among their mountains. Above four hundred Swiss fell in these arduous combats. Twenty peasants armed with clubs had taken shelter in a house: they were offered pardon if they would swear to the constitution; but they scornfully rejected the offer. The house was set on fire; and they all perished in the flames. The regret and commiseration expressed on this occasion by general Schawemburg in his dispatch to the Helvetic directory, will no doubt excite sorrow and compassion; but it will probably call to mind the proverbial simile of the tears of crocodiles.[53]

On the last mentioned day, the French column under Fressinet, after having pillaged and burnt several villages, arrived at Einsidlen. They found the abbey deserted by all

[53] 'Les amis de la cause commune ne peuvent que gemir sur les mesures qu'il a 'fallu employer pour obtenir nos succés. Le sang d'une multitude d'habitans simples 'et confians des campagnes, des peres de famille egarés, arrachés à la charruë, et 'trainés au combat, a coulé. Des epouses éplorées, des enfans abandonnés, des peres 'et meres vieux et infirmes ont a pleurer la perte de leurs soutiens et de leurs appuis.' Leyd. Gaz. May 25.

CHAP. X.

the monks, one only excepted, and stripped of all its treasures; the image of the Virgin alone remaining, which it was expected would work miracles against the infidels. It was sent to Paris as a companion to the Madona of Loretto; and general Schawemburg ordered the stately abbey, which he considered as the principal seat of superstition and fanaticism in this country, to be demolished.

Short and separate truces were now concluded; and an
May 4. accommodation soon after took place between the French general and the cantons of Schwitz and Glaris. These latter accepted the new constitution, on condition that they should retain their arms and worship, be liable to no contributions, and that no French troops should come within their frontiers. These terms, far more favourable than any that had yet been granted, are a manifest proof of the impression the bravery of this people had made on the French commanders. Reding came as one of the deputies to Schawemburg. 'Had you 'fallen into my hands, I would have hanged you,' said the general. 'I would have done the same by you, if I had caught 'you,' answered Reding.

Zug had, on the day of the first encounter, accepted the constitution. Uri and Underwalden acceded to certain terms, the particulars of which have never been distinctly known.

The Valais and Italian Bailiwicks surrender.

An insurrection in the Valais, fomented probably by the clergy, who, it may be imagined, did not countenance the fanaticism of irreligion of which the French soldiers were the strenuous apostles, was productive of several bloody engagements, and, after a short siege, (in which an act of treachery is laid to the charge of the garrison) of the taking by storm and sacking the city of Sion. The whole district, after this,

accepted the new constitution. . The Italian bailiwicks, which till now had hesitated whether they should join the Cisalpine or Helvetic republic, declared at length for the latter: and thus, except the Grison country, which as yet had not felt the impression, either of the persuasions or the arms of the invaders; and the bishoprick of Basle, and the cities of Mulhausen and Geneva, which had been incorporated in the great commonwealth; the whole of what had a few months ago composed a powerful and independent state, became a republic, one and indivisible, under the arbitrary control of five foreign dictators, who had nothing less at heart than the prosperity of this once happy country.

Le Carlier, whether he had not enforced his orders with sufficient rigour, or that an intrigue at Paris prevailed against him, saw himself in the beginning of May, recalled from Swisserland, and soon after placed at the head of a ministerial department. Previous to his leaving the country however, he exacted a contribution of fifteen millions of livres, to be raised, indeed, on the patrician families, but for which the towns assessed were made responsible.[54] Large sums were also imposed on the principal abbeys; and he ordered a strict inquisition to be made into the public funds, charitable as well as muni-

[54] Berne six, Friburg two, Soleure two, Lucern two, and Zuric three millions. One instance is upon record how these contributions, which were pretended to be laid only on the governing families, must have operated on the public at large. The chamber of administration of Friburg, observing that the families which had been rated could not possibly raise the amount of the contributions, ordered that all citizens possessed of ready money, should advance the same upon the security of the canton. Plate and all manner of effects were collected for the purpose; and probably the impossibility of enforcing the full payment, compelled the French commissaries to modify the sums: some of the contributions were even in the sequel wholly remitted. Vid. Monit. May 6.

CHAP. X.

cipal, of all the corporations over which his power extended. He was succeeded by Rapinat, brother in law to the director Rewbel, whose rapacity has been represented in the most odious colours. He began his administration by causing seals to be affixed to all the public treasuries of Berne, Zuric, and Lucern; even those out of which the casual necessities of the people were usually supplied, and the poor, the sick, and the orphans received their maintenance: and ordering the seals which the Helvetic government had fixed upon them to be torn off, he declared that these capitals were all to be considered as the sole property of the French republic.[55] He also issued orders for accumulated requisitions, and for still further contributions to be levied on the reduced patrician families.

Rapinat Commissary.

Deplorable State of Helvetia.

The period was now arrived when this country, drained of its specie, provisions, and necessaries, and kept in awe by an arbitrary proconsul, a numerous and expensive army, and the relentless passions of its own aspiring and ungrateful demagogues, could not but be reduced to a state of the most abject humiliation. Those, therefore, will hardly find credit who assert (and some there are who have asserted) that Swisserland, upon the whole, at this time, enjoyed great tranquillity, and a considerable share of political felicity: while, in fact, the unhappy victims of lawless power were awed into silence by the summary justice exerted against them by the ministers of liberty, equality, humanity, and the inalienable rights of men. Perhaps

[55] On the fifth of June, Rapinat and a sub-commissary, Rouhiere, came with an armed force and demanded the keys of the public treasure at Zuric. The magistrates having refused, Rapinat appealed to his bayonets, and sent for a smith, who broke open the locks. On the eighth, the treasure was loaded on waggons to be conveyed away. The removal however, it appears, was countermanded.

in this state of things, no true account would ever have been obtained of the real condition of the country, had we not some public testimonies, which the most obstinate incredulity will hardly know how to reject.

Lavater's Philippic.

The venerable, intrepid, and humane, though at times enthusiastic Lavater, who in this instance may well be admitted as a competent evidence, having himself, in the early stage of the innovating system, inclined in favour of a reformation in his canton, thought himself now called upon to state to the French directory, and, having obtained no redress from that quarter, to proclaim to the world at large, the heavy calamities the French had inflicted upon his unhappy country.[56]

'What has been the motive,' he asks in the name of all his countrymen, 'of the heavy wars the French have of late 'carried on against the most powerful sovereigns of Europe? 'What! but to prevent those sovereigns from interfering in 'their own internal affairs. Neither their splendid triumphs, 'nor the preponderancy of their power, ought surely, therefore, 'without their grossly belying their own principles, to prompt 'them to direct our domestic concerns, and to compel our 'obedience by hostile means. It is a law coeval with the 'world, written in every heart, and enforced by every decree, '*not to do to others what we wish not to have done to ourselves.* What would the French therefore say were we, 'being the strongest, to prescribe to them a constitution, 'enforce it by the bayonet, demand enormous contributions, 'lead away their treasures, the funds destined for the relief of 'their poor, their artillery, their arms, their ammunition, and

[56] This letter, repeatedly printed in different languages, bears date *Zuric, May* 10, 1798, *the first year of the Helvetic* SLAVERY.

CHAP. X.

'degrade them into a state of the most abject servitude? And 'yet all this you, with the sounding words of liberty, equality, 'justice, and loyalty, in your mouths, have done to us. Ye 'came as robbers, as tyrants against a people that had never 'offended you, under pretence of freeing us from aristocracy, 'or what you emphatically reprobate as an insufferable oli-'garchy: you have imposed a yoke upon us more intolerable 'than the most severe oppressions we have ever endured: 'never, during our former *vicious* government, have we been 'commanded in so despotic a manner as since you have con-'ferred liberty upon us. LIBERTY, EQUALITY, are words which 'grace the head of your edicts; and then follows, "*The* "*commander in chief orders you under severe penalties*, &c."

'When you entered the Helvetic territories you proclaimed 'that your sole object was to punish the oligarchies of Berne, 'Friburg, and Soleure. The other cantons believed you, and, 'to their shame be it told, looked on with passive indifference. 'Zuric complied with all you seemed to require; it reduced 'its government into a pure democratic form: and yet you 'came and ordered us to accept a new constitution. We 'silently acquiesced: a few days after, as if to sport with our 'submission, you abruptly ordered us to accept another con-'stitution, still less adapted than the former to our peculiar 'circumstances; and of this, in the language of a robber, '*Your money or your life*, you enjoined the acceptance, 'leaving us no other *liberty* but that of obeying your high 'commands.

'We now thought we had accomplished all your arbitrary 'mandates; and that, consistently with your repeated pro-'mises, no troops of yours should enter upon our territories.

CHAP. X.

'Vain hope! you came with an armed force, which you 'quartered upon our citizens and peasants. You drained our 'unhappy country; and, to crown our humiliation, you imposed 'a contribution of three millions of livres upon our senatorial 'families; the families who, for ages, had constitutionally held 'the reins of government, and held them without any imputa- 'tion of abuse or peculation, certainly without extortion; who 'now made no struggle to maintain the exclusive authority our 'constitution had vested in them, and against whom there- 'fore you could not possibly bring any well founded charge. 'The *liberty* you conferred on us in return for all these 'exactions, was the privilege of parting ultimately with our 'inestimable freedom. Does the man who kills a robber who 'demands my purse, and then strips me naked, deserve my 'thanks? Ten thousand of your brave warriors declare 'openly that your treatment of us is infamous. *Infamous!* 'what a word applied to the Great Nation! and yet were 'any other nation, without any ground but preponderancy of 'power, to proceed against you in the same manner you do to- 'wards others, what words of more bitter execration would not 'your glowing eloquence invent, to express your indignation?'

With such heavy allegations and reproachful inferences, but in a language far more impressive, does this bold patriot arraign the counduct of the French towards his country. There are some perhaps who will be guarded against the flights of his glowing imagination: these we shall refer to a public document of a far more authentic nature; the official remonstrance of the Swiss representative at Paris, B. Zeltner, a man of revolutionary principles, who addressed to the mini- May 20.

CHAP. X.

ster of foreign affairs a note, which, for ambiguous language, fulsome adulation, and yet severe reproach and urgent solicitation, has perhaps scarcely its equal. The first period points out the spirit of the performance.

Zeltner's Remonstrance.

'The minister plenipotentiary of the Helvetic republic fulfils the first and most pleasing of the duties imposed on him by his constituents, in testifying to the Great Nation, and to its constituted authorities, their gratitude for the benefit conferred on them, of a constitution founded on the principles of liberty and equal rights. Could the Helvetian republicans have recovered their indefeasible rights without being deprived of all the means of enjoying them, the gratitude they now profess would know no bounds.

'Intimately connected with the French nation during many centuries, by all the ties of mutual esteem, by the intercourse of commerce, and treaties founded upon reciprocal advantages, the Helvetic people would with rapture still be its faithful ally, its friend, and its admirer, did not too many sufferings attend their political regeneration. Is it then written in the book of destiny, that the noble gift of freedom must be purchased at the price of every kind of oppression which can afflict a people?'

These sufferings and these oppressions he next paints in colours which must excite compassion, if not horror. 'When, in conferring freedom on a people,' he continues, 'you clothe it in the rags of misery; when you compel it to exchange its gay and genuine felicity for gloomy dejectedness, and all manner of vexation; when the husbandman foregoes his plough, and the artist both his work and implements;

'when the virtuous and peaceful citizen is stript of his pro-
'perty, and all his rights are trampled upon, you have, O Great
'Nation! you have missed your aim. *England triumphs.*

'They are not empty declamations, not vague alarms,
'which the Helvetic minister here lays before you. He under-
'took the solemn obligation to tear asunder an odious veil.
'He will fulfil his duty with the frankness and simplicity
'that has always been the characteristic of the nation he
'represents; and with a heart that beats only for liberty,
'he will adduce facts, and establish them upon incontestible
'evidence.'

After specifying more particularly some of the most atrocious cruelties practised by the French substitutes, the minister proceeds: 'The consequences of so irritating a conduct against
'a people, not distracted by pleasures, nor to be awed by
'fear, though it may be guided by gentle means, are indeed
'alarming. It is exceedingly impolitic not to study their cha-
'racter more attentively. This brave, but headstrong people,
'adhere firmly to their religion, to their democracy, and to
'their ancient manners. Whatever bears the semblance of
'infidelity or outrage, revolts their honest minds, and fills
'them with indignation. When they have nothing more to
'lose, when urged by despair, they will yield themselves up to
'every excess; and Helvetia may become the theatre of scenes
'far more horrible than those of the Vendée. The writer
'trembles in using this language, but it is his duty to use it.
'Not to reveal the whole truth to the French directory, were
'an unpardonable offence.'

The nature of the grievances he complains of may be gathered from the articles of redress he demands in the name

CHAP. X.

of his republic. These were, the replacing of all the public funds, which had been seized and carried away; a repeal of the contributions laid on without the least retrospect to the abilities of the contributors; the return of the artillery, arms, ammunition, and, in a word, all that the French had purloined from the Swiss; an immediate reduction of the French army in Swisserland, especially the cavalry, and that what remained should be quartered in barracks; and lastly, that the agents of the French republic, as well as the commanders of the French troops, should be instructed to concert their measures with the Helvetic government, to act only in its name, and with its approbation.

Should proofs still more authentic of the sufferings and discontents of the people be required, recourse may be had to the formal declarations of their chief magistrates and representatives, whose language is too decisive to admit of any doubt or

May 6. cavil. The Helvetic directors, in a letter to the commissary Rapinat, after particularizing several grievances, proceed in these words: 'We cannot persuade ourselves that the direc-'tory of the Great Nation, which has declared itself our friend, 'will consent to see us reduced to the condition of the poorest, 'the most feeble, the most wretched of people. No, citizen 'commissary! the French government did not decree our 'ruin, when it resolved to confer liberty upon us. It disdains 'the ungenerous fraud of an ambitious policy, which bestows 'the name of friend on those it crushes. Our sufferings 'must be great indeed, since our remonstrances become so 'frequent.'

After a sufficient time had elapsed for some reparation of the evils complained of in the preceding remonstrances, the

CHAP. X.

May 30.

same directory writes to general Schawemburg; 'We are 'compelled to apprize you, citizen general, that the excesses 'of all sorts with which the troops oppress our countrymen, 'the heavy requisitions and exactions of all kinds, which the 'people are unable to satisfy, have occasioned so universal a 'discontent, that, according to the reports received this day 'from all the subordinate magistrates, the general despair has 'risen to the highest pitch. Citizen general! Helvetia and 'Genoa have formerly owed their liberty to the excess of their 'misfortunes, and to the *immoderate use of victory*..... 'Perfidy alone can tell you that our ills are exaggerated.' Schawemburg, in answer to this letter, expressed great surprise; declared that he had ordered all excesses of his troops to be severely punished; but intimated that he had much to recriminate. The directory in their reply, after discussing the points in debate, concludes, 'It must indeed be a great 'triumph to the aristocracy, to compare the prosperity of the 'Swiss before the revolution [57] with the misfortunes they now 'experience. It, no doubt, calculates the degrees of calamity 'this people may yet sustain before it arrives at absolute, and 'the most horrid, despair. Your troops will not be confined 'to barracks; they choose rather to live in private houses, the 'owners of which they vex and insult, and from whom they 'snatch even the last morsel of bread; while the unhappy 'sufferers, who, as well as the administration to which they 'look up for protection, have nothing left but the privilege

[57] Even general Schawemburg, on sailing up the lake of Zuric, and observing the borders luxuriant in culture and industry and with every mark of prosperity, could not help exclaiming, '*Il est cependant difficile de retrouver ici les traces du despo-tisme.*' Vid. Monit. June the third.

CHAP. X.

'of making ineffectual complaints; and can neither offer nor 'obtain any alleviation, having been stripped of the funds 'destined for the relief of the distressed. We appeal to the 'justice, and to the generosity, of the French republic. We 'formally claim the execution of the solemn promises it has 'made to our nation and to all the friends of liberty.'[58]

So far from any redress being obtained to these repeated
May 13. and urgent representations, a decree of the French directory invested the commissary Rapinat, the principal author of the depredations complained of, 'with all the powers civil, poli- 'tical, and financial, with all the competency, and to the full 'extent that might be requisite for the interests of the French 'republic;' and this decree was strictly enforced by that rapacious delegate, who formally declared to the Helvetic legislative assembly, 'that they were no more than a board of administra-
June 16. 'tion subordinate to the French government.' About a month after, he wrote a peremptory letter to the assembly, urging the necessity of making certain reforms in the constituted authorities of Swisserland; advising that two of the directors, Bay and Pfeiffer, and some inferior members of the administration, be required to resign their offices; and recommending the introduction of Ochs and Dolder into the directory. On the eighteenth of the same month he proceeded so far as to annul all the powers of the public authorities, and to declare what nearly amounted to martial law. 'If it be true,' he says, 'that Swisserland is hitherto a conquest of the French army, 'it is no less certain, that it belongs to the agents of the French 'government to direct all the operations civil, political, and 'financial, which are to be carried on in Helvetia.' The

[58] Vid. Monit. July the sixth.

principal cause of these conflicts appears to have been the seizure of the public treasuries, and the funds for charitable purposes, which the Swiss government represented the necessity of retaining in order to preserve their country, incessantly exposed to the catastrophes of nature, from absolute destruction. The Helvetic government had caused the seal of their republic to be affixed to the public chests that still remained in the country, and even ventured so far as to cause those which Rapinat had added to them to be torn off without his participation. On this occasion the enraged commissary repeated his declaration, 'that the Swiss had now 'no property but what belonged to the French republic;' and he actually once more ordered the treasury of Zuric to be conveyed away.

Rapinat displaced and reinstated.

The transactions which now followed were so unexpected, contradictory, and seemingly inconsistent with the principles of the French government, that it will be in vain as yet to offer any conjectures concerning them, or any clue to unravel the intrigues that probably gave rise to them. The late rigorous letter of Rapinat was on a sudden disapproved, and declared void by a decree of the French directory. He was himself appointed to the office of commissary at Mentz, and Rudler was named to succeed him in Helvetia. Whether it was meant to allure the unsuspecting Swiss into a display of sentiments which might furnish a handle for future severity, certain it is, that the rejoicings, not only in the legislative bodies, but throughout the country, were manifest indications of the abhorrence entertained by the people of the oppressions and insults they had hitherto experienced; and expressed the sanguine hopes they entertained that, under the influence of a milder

June 20.

CHAP. X.

administration, they should still be preserved from absolute annihilation. Thus impressed, what must have been their terror and dismay, when, eight days after, they were officially informed by general Schawemburg, that Rapinat was to continue in his station, and that the powers vested in him were no ways diminished. Strange to relate, this reinstatement was now called a happy reconciliation. The directors Bay and Pfeiffer, who in consequence of the preceding removal of the commissary had resumed their stations, once more resigned, and Ochs and Dolder[59] were reinstated by Rapinat. The senate declared its satisfaction on receiving from general Schawemburg the happy tidings that the French directory had continued the depositary of their authority in his former station. Ochs was installed in the directory by the French general Mounier. Congratulatory speeches,[60] festivals, the discharge of artillery, illuminations, succeeded; and the people, aghast and confounded at the mysterious alternations, partook of the rejoicings, though they knew not whence they arose, nor what they portended.

Whatever brought on these rapid changes, or may have been their immediate effects, it must be owned, that no loud complaints, or even feeble remonstrances, were for a certain interval heard either from the constituted authorities, or from the people at large: some reparations were even made for former injuries. Whether the spirit of the people had been effectually curbed, or whether the French government,

[59] The election of Dolder was soon after annulled, and la Harpe appointed in his place.

[60] Ochs in his speech extolled above all others the virtue of gratitude, and reminded his audience of the great benefits they had received from the French republic.

unwilling to harass and perplex any longer a people that was now prostrate at their feet, inclined to lenity, we hear of no instances which might call for animadversion, until the act which crowned all former oppressions, and which, by the extermination of a people, completed the reduction of Helvetia.

The Underwalders assailed.

The small democratic cantons, and particularly those of Uri and Underwalden, had, notwithstanding the losses they had sustained in their late encounters, obtained terms which ill accorded with the system of unity or rather of perfect subjugation which appears throughout to have been the plan of the French government. Nor could they patiently endure that the passes over Mount St. Gothard and through the Grison country, which now connected several of their dependent republics, should not be solely and absolutely in their power. Never have they yet been wanting in pretences to assail a people, though ever so inoffensive, whenever their interest or lust of power urged them to the attack. In the present instance, a civic oath binding the whole nation to the new constitution, was proposed or rather ordained by the French general and commissary, who at the same time alleged that, as this constitution had been solemnly accepted by the legislative body, it became necessary to impose on each individual the obligation of adhering to it. The three small cantons on the lake of Lucern, and the canton of Zug, unwilling to admit any closer connection with a government, the effects of which did not appear to them in the least inviting, and not as yet accustomed to sport with the sanctity of an oath, resolutely refused to comply with the ordinance. The general sent them a threatening message; and the new Helvetic directory exhorted them to compliance, intimating the great danger to

CHAP. X.

which they should expose themselves, if they persisted in their contumacy. Schawemburg added to this exhortation, in his own hand writing; 'If the people of the forest cantons do not 'immediately comply with the above requisition, I shall in- 'stantly lead the army under my orders into the *rebellious* 'districts, and shall inflict a severe and exemplary punishment 'on all the refractory.'

It must affect all whose hearts are not become callous by the practice of revolutionary *virtues*, to read the artless, but surely pathetic, answer made by these simple shepherds. 'Re- 'ceive, citizen general,' they said, 'from a people ever true to 'their engagements, who among their craggy mountains have 'no comfort but their religion, and their liberty, whose only 'riches is their cattle; receive the sincere assurance that they 'will ever give to the French republic all the proofs of their 'devotedness, compatible with their liberty and independence. 'Accept also, citizen general, our solemn promise never to take 'up arms against the Great Republic, and never to join its 'enemies. Our liberty is our only blessing; nor will any thing 'ever induce us to grasp our arms, except our duty to defend 'that liberty!'[61]

Even now, when reduced to such small numbers, had these

[61] 'Quid nobis tecum est?' said the Scythian ambassadors who came to deprecate the invasion of Alexander, 'nunquam terram tuam adtigimus. Qui sis, unde venias, 'licetne ignorare in vastis silvis viventibus? Nec servire ulli possumus, nec imperare 'desideramus. Dona a nobis data sunt, ne Scytharum gentem ignores, jugum boum, 'aratrum, & sagitta, & patera. His utimur et cum amicis, & adversus inimicos: 'patera cum iisdem vinum diis libamus. Inimicos sagitta eminus, hasta cominus 'petimus.' Quint. Curt. l. vii. c. 7. The reader, who will perhaps be struck with the resemblance in language and spirit, between this address and that of the illiterate shepherds of the Alps, will, we trust, not blame the insertion.

cantons firmly united in the support of their common cause, they, favoured by the asperity of their country, might yet have offered some check to the overwhelming power to which the greatest monarchs have been compelled to yield. But even these, like the rest of their confederate states, like the sovereigns of Europe, had ceased to act in concert: by degrees all declined further opposition, except the few people of Underwalden, who were left to make a fruitless struggle that ended in extermination. Schawemburg being apprized of their stubborn refusal, led forth his bands against them.

It is not because it comes from the ex-director Carnot, who were he now in office would doubtless hold a language diametrically opposite, but because it has all the appearance of being a faithful representation of the spirit which animated the French rulers, that we trespass upon our readers with the following extract. 'The system of the directory is not equivocal for 'those who carefully observe its proceedings. It is to establish 'the national power, less upon the real grandeur of the 'republic, than upon the debility and final ruin of its neighbours: to engage them one by one; to treat them as friends, 'as long as it is expedient to paralyze them, or to derive some 'succour from them; and when the moment is arrived for 'crushing them, their fertile genius is never at a loss for pretences to realize, respecting them, the fable of the wolf and 'the lamb. Of this, its conduct towards the small cantons of 'Swisserland is a glaring instance. It was no longer the Bernese oligarchy; it was no longer those against whom they 'had such heavy charges to allege, namely, those who had 'a store of thirty millions and a magnificent arsenal; it was 'the very children of William Tell, democrats, poor, scarcely

CHAP. X.

'connected with their neighbours. No matter; they must be 'revolutionized: and hence the liberty which had afforded 'them five centuries of happiness, that liberty which had long 'been the envy of the French, is no longer the liberty that 'becomes them. The alternative of a new constitution, or 'death, is offered them. The constitution which they thought 'less democratic than their own,' they reject. They must 'therefore be slaughtered; for it is clear that nothing but 'intrigue and fanaticism can induce them to decline this pledge 'of their future felicity. To kill them is the best means to 'prevent their being any longer misled by intriguers and 'priests. And yet this handful of simple shepherds, who for 'three hundred years have experienced no hostility, dares to 'resist. Their republican blood is mingled with that of French 'republicans, not to defend jointly the sacred rights of men, 'but to exterminate each other. Impious war!' &c.[62]

and exterminated.

We cannot surely be taxed with partiality or exaggeration, if in relating this transaction, for which the reader will please to find a proper epithet, we transcribe the account given by the French general himself of his atchievements. On the ninth of September, at six in the evening, he writes to the Helvetic directory: 'You will learn with pleasure, citizen 'directors, that victory continues faithful to the republicans. 'We have taken possession of the district of Stanz, after a 'combat which lasted from five in the morning to this mo-'ment. All that afflicts me is that this day could not be 'terminated without all the consequences that must attend 'so severe a conflict; for it has cost abundance of bloodshed. 'But *they were rebels, whom it was necessary to subdue.*—Health

[62] Apology of Carnot, written by himself.

CHAP. X.

'and respect.—Schawemburg.' It seems then that it was an act of rebellion in these unfortunate men, to wish to preserve, among their native rocks, the cradle of liberty, an independence asserted by a series of heroic deeds, and handed down through many centuries to the present hapless generation; an independence which never sought to obtrude itself upon others, but which was the pride, and constituted the chief happiness, of a brave, industrious, benevolent race, which, while it asserted its own rights, never molested a neighbour, nor caused a tear to flow from the eye of innocence.

On the tenth of September the general wrote more fully to general Jordy, commandant at Strasburg. 'You will learn 'with pleasure, my dear general, that we have defeated the 'rebels who had assembled in great numbers in the district 'of Stanz, where they had raised formidable ramparts. I 'could succeed no other way to envelope them than by sending 'round a column through the Oberwald. On the twenty- 'second Fructidor, I had secured the height of Mergesweil. Sept. 8. 'As soon as all was arranged for acting in concert, I directed, 'on the twenty-third at day-break, the generals Mainoni Sept. 9. 'and Muller, to fall into the valley of Stanz, and attack the 'entrechments. No sooner had these been carried by the 'bayonet, than I ordered the infantry to embark on the lake, 'and to invest Stanz in the rear, which place was accordingly 'cannonaded on all sides with the greatest vigour. At six 'in the evening we were perfect masters of this unhappy 'country, the greatest part of which was pillaged. The fury 'of the soldiers could not be restrained, for many of them had 'been taken by surprise and massacred. We have suffered 'greatly, which could not be avoided, considering the incredible

CHAP. X.

'obstinacy of these men, whose audacity bordered upon rage. 'Several priests, and unfortunately also many women, were 'cut to pieces. *In a word, all that bore arms were put to the 'sword.* We had about three hundred and fifty wounded. 'This was the warmest conflict I ever experienced. Our 'enemies fought with iron wedges, with fragments of rocks: 'in short, all imaginable means were used to destroy each 'other. A great number of the inhabitants of different can- 'tons were witnesses of this fierce action: their countenances 'drooped as we advanced. The whole district of Underwalden 'is now subdued. The papers we have in hand prove, that if 'we had not crushed these infatuated men, the insurrection 'would in a short time have become general. The Helvetic 'directory has demanded of me a military commission. If 'your government consents to it, the principal agitators will 'meet with their condign punishment. We have taken twelve 'cannon, six colours, besides the arms of many individuals. 'Delpoint, the chief of brigade, has been wounded in the right 'arm. We have lost several officers.'

The following additional particulars are accurately transcribed from the narratives given by persons, who must have written and published under the sanction of the French government.[63] 'Underwalden gave birth to Arnold of Melch- 'thal, one of the three heroes who, on the seventh of Novem- 'ber, one thousand three hundred and seven, first raised the 'standard of liberty, and drove out the Austrian tyrants. From 'that day this liberty, and a perfect equality of conditions, were 'the fundamental principles of its popular government, and of 'the ancient constitution, in defence of which, the present

[63] Leyden Gazette. Anno 1798. No. XL. and XLI.

'generation have once more abundantly bled. It is then only 'in compliance with recent usage, which ascribes the name of 'republicans exclusively to the French armies, that general 'Schawemburg says, that *victory has continued true to the 'republicans*. According to private letters, he caused the 'insurgents to be attacked at the same time on two sides: 'they defended themselves with an incredible obstinacy. The 'number of those who fell are estimated at about fifteen 'hundred. The town of Stanz has been burnt; and the in-'habitants who have not perished in the battle, or in the 'devastation, are reduced to the most deplorable misery. In 'Stanz, only sixteen houses are left standing. It was a large, 'handsome, pleasant, well built burgh, full of public and pri-'vate edifices, well worthy of notice, all which are now con-'verted into blazing ruins, steeped in the gore of their owners. 'The few of these unhappy owners who survived the carnage 'fled into the higher Alps, whither they had previously sent 'their women, children, and some of their valuable effects. 'Nothing so horrid as this obstinate combat. Men of all ages, 'women, and even children, fought without order, without 'able or experienced chiefs, against a host of well disciplined 'troops, supported by a numerous artillery. The action lasted 'thirteen hours without intermission, and with a rage of which 'there is scarcely any example. No one endowed with sensi-'bility but must lament the accumulated evils that afflict this 'unhappy country, so worthy of a better fate.'

Such are the outlines of the transactions of this unhappy day, as related by the conquerors themselves. The wretched victims, at once oppressed, and at no time inclined to extol their own actions, have given us no detail to raise the opinion

CHAP. X.

of the valour and constancy they displayed in the midst of this carnage and desolation, and to call forth the indignation of posterity. Were all the particulars, the heroic exertions, the cruelties, and deep distresses of this awful day, accurately recorded, what subjects might they not afford for the tragic Muse? But such is the rapid progress of degradation, when a people is once subdued, that even the new erected Helvetic assembly of this now humiliated country, so far from priding themselves in this last instance of patriotic virtue; unanimously decreed, that the army, which, unprovoked, had slaughtered fifteen hundred of their brave countrymen, the immediate descendents of the founders of their former liberty, *had deserved well of the Helvetic nation!*[64]

[64] According to the most recent intelligence, the sufferings of the Helvetic, and especially the Alpine nations, are now (Jan. 1800) arrived at a pitch that baffles all description. No sooner had Massena, in September last, driven the Austrians and Russians beyond the Rhine, than he demanded a loan of upwards of two millions of florins from the cities of Basle, Zuric, and St. Gallen, which, if not paid within two days, he declared should be raised by military execution. Although the Helvetic directory (the deluded promoters of the revolution) loudly exclaimed against this oppressive requisition, yet the general persisted; and the French directory, to whom a pathetic appeal was made, determined in favour of the extortion. The absolute impossibility of collecting the whole amount, it was at length found necessary to admit as a sufficient plea for a moderate abatement. In less than two months (October and November, 1799) the people, who had already been exhausted by the contending armies, were compelled to supply the French invaders with upwards of 4000 oxen, 20,000 quintals of corn, 150,000 quintals of hay, 100,000 rations of bread, 25,000 quarts of wine, and many other articles, which, being the principal part of their winter stores, they could not forego without a certain prospect of a famine. This wretched people had moreover to provide for the hospitals, to perform all the transport service, and to gratify the rapacity of many subordinate agents: and their murmurs were hushed by the taunting pretence that this was but a due return for the *liberty* and *independence* the Republican armies had conferred on them.

It will no doubt excite the indignation of men of irritable tempers, to hear republican philanthropists coolly advance that evils like these, afflicting as they are, are yet the necessary consequences of a reform of government, and will in the end prove beneficial to the posterity of the victims who now suffer from them.[65] This indeed is transcendent virtue; and men possessed of it must not be contradicted, the sublimity of their sentiment, being an argument they will never relinquish.

These calamities, however disastrous, bear yet but a small proportion to the misery experienced by the innocent people of the forest cantons and the upper Valais, who, though never in affluence, lived yet peacefully and happily among their rocks, lakes, and torrents; and asked for nothing but to be left in the tranquil enjoyment of their contented mediocrity. The few cattle that were spared by the hostile armies, they were obliged to kill for want of forage. The flourishing town of Stanz was wholly demolished: at Altorf only one house was left standing; and the whole country is now a scene of desolation and wretchedness. The bulk of the nation, true to the oath taken by their ancestors at Rutli, have been exterminated in the various encounters, in which they displayed their wonted courage, but were repeatedly deserted by their powerful allies, and overwhelmed by numbers. The few wretched survivors have lately been seen, scattered like chaff before the wind, along the frontiers of the country, without any guide but terror and dismay, and without any sustenance but the scanty supply afforded them by the compassionate, who are themselves nearly deprived of their all: aged fathers, with their famished progeny, to whom they have no bread to give; widows (fewer indeed in number, for most of the women perished in the repeated conflicts) bewailing the loss of husbands, children, friends; swarms of half-naked orphans exposed on the snow, or roaming in search of their slaughtered parents. This picture is not exaggerated, for it is chiefly gathered from reports published under the sanction of the French government, and by the ignominious Helvetic directory. (Leyd. Gaz. Oct. 29, Nov. 12, Dec. 3 and 24, 1799; and Jan. 3 and 7, 1800.) After such atrocious crimes, and such unmerited sufferings, can there be a doubt of a future retribution?

[65] A grave author, whom we have in general wished to follow in the present narrative, observes with frigid apathy, that 'the Swiss, amid their sufferings, forgot that 'great revolutions are always sacrifices which the present generation makes for the 'felicity of future ones.' Posselt. Europ. Annal. anno 1798. No. VI. p. 213.

CHAP. X.

Those of more moderate perfection, however, but whose plans are more likely to be truly beneficial, will probably maintain, that the most effectual mode of providing for the prosperity of future generations, is for good and wise men to co-operate in promoting the tranquillity and happiness of the present. The Swiss, moreover, might well resist all innovation, since they felt, and the bulk of the nation gratefully acknowledged, that with all the imperfections in their governments, they were still the freest and happiest people upon earth; and were fully persuaded that no revolutionary emendations, much less a total overthrow of their former polity, could in any respect improve the condition of their progeny, for whose real advantage they have more than once shewn how ready they were to shed their blood.

The Grisons attacked.

The Grisons remained still unsubdued. These hardiest of the Alpine tribes had been abundantly practised upon by agitators, who at one time had actually succeeded to displace the legal magistrates, and to introduce a national convention, one of whose first steps was, on frivolous pretences, to seize the property of individuals, and compel several of them to quit the country. This, however, was not of long duration: the anti-revolutionary party, when the dismemberment of the Valteline was decreed by Bonaparte, recovered its ascendency, restored the former magistracy, and even compelled Florent Guyot, the French resident, and a number of his subordinate agents, to evacuate the country. Schawemburg exclaimed loudly at the atrocity of this proceeding; marched a force towards the frontiers, and menaced to spread devastation among these bare rocks and scanty vales. The people assembled in arms, and repelled his first attempts; but their govern-

ment, awed by the example of the wretched Underwalders, and by no means confident of unanimity among themselves, had recourse to a measure which, a few months before, would have filled the nation with horror. They called in an Austrian army! The calamities that have since afflicted this devoted country are now become foreign to the confederacy, and hence no longer form a part of the present history. The conflict has since been between foreign powers; and their pleasure will probably decide the fate of a people which, as a state, never yet acknowledged a superior, except the Sovereign Lord of all.

Conclusion.

Thus ended this confederacy, the victim of a perfidious enemy, of an ill-timed moderation, of the aspiring views of some of its ambitious sons, and above all, of the want of unanimity among its rulers. It is possible, and the hope must not be altogether relinquished, that the nation will still recover its independence; but the ancient confederacy, it may be apprehended, has now vanished for ever. The new free constitution (for Swisserland must have a free constitution, unless the people is to degenerate into a horde of lawless ruffians) will, most probably, have a different form from that which has now been abolished. May it be productive of as many blessings!

THE END.

INDEX.

A

Page

Aar river, its course, i. - - 3
Adolphus of Nassau, King of Germany, i. 138. Grants a charter to the Swiss, 140. Slain, 141
Adrian VI. Pope, ii. - - 137
Advocacy, what, i. - - 42
Agnes, Queen of Hungary, cruelly avenges her father's death, i. 161. Founds the abbey of Koenigsfelden, 163. Dies, 278
Albert I. King of Germany, created Duke of Austria, Stiria, &c. i. 132. His character, 134. First compact with the Swiss, 135. Alliance against him, 137. Hostile to the Swiss, 141. Expedition against Berne, 142. Before Zuric, 143. Advocate of St. Gallen, 144. Of Glaris and Einsidlen, 145. Other acquisitions, *ibid.* Captious message to the Swiss, 146. Slain by his nephew, 158. His death avenged, 160. Consequences of his death, 165
—— II. King of Germany, i. 419. Dies, 423
—— Duke of Austria, makes a truce with the Swiss, i. 185. Attacks the cantons, 238. Besieges Zuric, - - 248
Albigny (d') commands the scalade of Geneva, ii. - - - 175
Alemanni in Helvetia, i. 10, 11. Their laws, - - - - 26
Alliances with foreign powers, ii. - 297
Alps, name and description of, i. - 2
Amadeus de Hauterive, Bishop of Lausanne, i. - - - - 49
—— Count of Savoy, reforms the abbey of St. Maurice, i. - - 67
—— V. Count of Savoy, allies against Albert of Austria, i. - - - 137
Anabaptists, ii. - - 139, 152
Appenzel founded, i. 61. Its progress, 273, 341. Allies with Schwitz, 347. War with St. Gallen, &c. 348. Peace, 358. Union with seven cantons, 360. ii. 8. Received in the confederacy, 101 Constitution, 288

Page

Arau, peace of, ii. 243, 248. Diet at, 400
Arberg acquired by Berne, i. - 270
Arburg taken by Berne, i. - - 377
Arducius of Faucigny, Bishop of Geneva, i. 53
Argau taken by Berne, i. - - 375
Armagnacs, invasion of, i. - - 451
Arnold of Brescia, his doctrines, i. - 73
Arsent (*Francis*) Avoyer of Lucern, beheaded, ii. - - - - 88
Attinghausen (*Walter* of), i. - - 91
—— (*Werner*) sent to King Albert, i. 147. His character, 148. Sanctions the confederacy, - - - 152
—— (*John*) makes a treaty with the Rusconis, i. - - 187
Avenche, Aventicum, i. - - 7
Augst, Augusta rauracorum, i. - - 7
Austria, peace with the cantons, anno 1389, i. 317. Prorogued, 323, 362. Concerned in the war of Burgundy, ii. 2. Hereditary union with the cantons, ii. 15. See *Rudolph*, *Albert*, *Leopold*, *Frederick*, *Sigismund*, *Maximilian*.
Autier's repulse at Thierens, ii. - 412
Aymo, Count of Geneva, i. - - 52

B

Baden, taken by the confederates, i. 379. Synod of, ii. 140. Peace of, - 245
Bailiwicks (the free) acquired by the Swiss, i. - - - - 381
—— (Italian). See *Italian*.
Balm (*Rudolph de*) conspires against King Albert, i. - - - 159
Basle (Bishop of), i. - - 55
—— city, its origin, i. 75. Demolished by an earthquake, 268. Acquires territories, 327. A plague, 424. Admitted into the confederacy, ii. 78. Constitution, 284. Revolution, - - - 401

Page
Basle, council of, i. - - 405
Battles of Shosshalde, i. 128. Donnerbuhel, 142. Morgarten, 174. Laupen, 223. Ruti, 242. Tatwyl, 243. Buttisholz, 284. Frauenbrunnen, 285. Sempach, 297. Næfels, 310. Speicher, 348. Stoss, 353. Hauptlisberg, 354. Wolfshalde, 355. St. Paul, 393. Freyenbach, 442. Hirzel, 444. St. Jacob, near Zuric, 447. St. Jacob, near Basle, 454. Granson, ii. 25. Morat, 31. Nancy, 38. Fornovo, 55. Triesen, 60. Hard, 61. Frastenz, *ibid.* Malsheide, 64. Schwaderloch, 66. Bruderholz, 67. Dornach, 69. Novarra, 97. Marignan, 108. Biccoca, 116. Cappel, 148. Herzogenbuchs, 215. Villemergen, 242. Neweneck, 428. Richterswyl, 440
Bellinzona taken by the Swiss, i. 336. War of, - - - - 389
Berne founded, i. 44, 76. Declared imperial, 94. State of, 95. Constitution and manners, *ib.* War with Rudolph I. 126. Receives privileges, 139. Attacked by Albert, 142. Receives grants from Everard, Count of Kyburg, 188. Envied by the nobles, 189. Obtains the prefecture of Hasli, 190. War of Laupen, 213. Enters into the confederacy, 250. Acquires Arberg, &c. 270. Buren, Nidau, &c. 315. And other territories, 325. A fire, 331. Takes the Argau, 375. Engages in the war of Raron, 388. Her peasants revolt, ii. 208. Constitution, 252. Conduct in the revolution, 399, 410, 413, 418. A provisionary regency, 426. Surrenders to the French, - - 430
Bertha, Queen of Arelat, i. 21, 32. Founds Payerne, - - - - - 65
Berthelier, of Geneva, resists the oppressions of Savoy, ii. - - - - 135
Berthold. Vid. *Zæringen*.
Beza (Theod.) a reformer, ii. 162. Preaches after the scalade, - - 178
Biccoca, battle of, ii. - - 115
Bienne, war of, i. - - - 271
Blankenburg (Anthony of) governor of Laupen, i. - - - 218
Bonaparte visits Swisserland, ii. - 394
Bonom (J. F.) nuntio in Swisserland, ii. 167
Bonstetten (three Barons of) fall at Morgarten, i. - - - 177
——— *(Ulric de)* conspires against Brun, i. 232. Taken at Zuric, 233. Released, - - - 250
Page
Bonstetten (Herman de) Abbot of St. Gallen, i. - - - 273
Bormio ceded to the Grisons, ii. 113. Torn from them, - - - 394
Boromean league, ii. - - - 166
Boso, King of Burgundy, i. - - 19
Brie, taken by Charles the Bold, ii. - 23
Bruderholz, battle of, ii. - - 67
Brugger, killed at the Shosshalde, i. 128
Brun (Rudolph) Burgomaster of Zuric, i. 205. His policy, 211. Conspiracy against him, 231. Quelled, 233. Expedition to Rapperswyl, 234. Flies at Tatwyl, 244. Signs an ambiguous agreement with Austria, 255. Decline and death, 259. His family, 264. Disgraced, - - 266
Brune, commands the French in Swisserland, ii. 417. Proposes a division of Swisserland, 435
Bubenburg (Cuno de) builds Berne, i. 77
——— *(John de)* Avoyer of Berne, i. 216. Banished, 228. Recalled, - 229
——— *(Otho de)* acquires Burgdorf for Berne, i. - - - 288
——— *(Adrian de)* commands at Morat, ii. - - 29
Buel (Matthias) commands at Næfels, i. 310
Bulinger (Henry) a reformer, ii. - 129
Burgdorf, ceded to Berne, i. - - 288
Burgundian war, ii. - - 1
Burgundians, in Helvetia, i. 12, 16, 19. Their laws, - - 24
Burgundy, first kingdom, i. 16. New kingdom, 19. Attempt to revive it, - 123
——— Counts of, i. 129. War with Rudolph, - - 124, 129
——— submits to France, ii. 41. The county surrendered to Austria, 53. Invaded by the confederates, - 99
Buttisholz, engagement of, i. - 284

C

Cæcina, Aulus, i. - - 8
Calvin (John) comes to Geneva, ii. 160. Dies, - - - 162
Cantons, first division into, i. - 87
Cappel, battle of, ii. - - 148
Carnot, his statement of the French invasion of Swisserland, ii. - - 457
Cervola, expedition of, i. - - 280

Page

Charlemagne, i. - - 18, 23
Charles, Duke of Burgundy, his character, ii. 4. Visits Brisach, 13. Besieges Nuys, 18. Killed at Nancy, 38. Vid. *Granson*, *Morat*, *Nancy*.
Charles VII. King of France, sends the Armagnacs into Swisserland, i. 451. Allies with the confederates, ii. - - 3
Charles VIII. King of France, renews a league with the confederates, ii. 49. His expedition to Naples, - - 53
Charles III. Duke of Savoy, oppresses Geneva, ii. - - - 135
Chena (de la) a demagogue at Geneva, ii. 308. Banished, - - 325
Chiavenna, first ceded to the Grisons, ii. 91. Also by Francis I. 113. Torn from them, 394
Clavieres, a factious Genevois, ii. - 379
Clergy, ignorance and depravity of the, ii. 122
Coire, Bishop of, i. - - 50
Columban, comes from Scotland, i. - 56
Confederacy, dawn of the, i. 153. League of the four forest cantons, 165, 181. Admissions of Zuric, 235. Glaris, 242. Zug, 247. Berne, 250. Its state, 263. Dissolution, ii. - - - 368
Confederates, war with Austria, i. 252. And with the empire, 253. An attempt to divide them, 255. Defeated by Schwitz, 257. Declare war against Charles the Bold, ii. - - - 20
Conrad, the Salic, Emperor, i. - 34
Constance, Bishop of, i. - - 50
——— council of, i. 365. Dissolved, 382
Coucy (expedition of), i. 281. Dies, 333
Coxe, an English agent in Swisserland, ii. 227
Crest (Micheli du) a demagogue at Geneva, ii. - - 330
Cuno, Abbot of St. Gallen, wars with Appenzel, i. 343. Flies to Wyl, 345. Brought back to St. Gallen, 356. Dies, - 361

D

Defensional, ii. - - 221
Diets, Helvetic, ii. - - 291
Dijon, siege and convention of, ii. - 100
Disentis, abbey, i. - - 57
Divico, i. - - - 5
Domo, besieged by the Milanese, i. - 396
Donnerbubel, action of, i. - 142

E

Page

Eckard, monk of St. Gallen, i. - 59
Egerdon, a founder of Berne, i. - 77
Einsidlen abbey, i. 68. Albert its advocate, 145. Contest with Schwitz, 167, 169. Taken and demolished, ii. - - 441
Emmenthal, seditions in the, ii. - 200
Engelberg abbey, i. - - 67
Ennius, Pope's nuntio, ii. - - 151
Entlibuch (vale of), i. 283. Admitted to the freedom of Lucern, i. 292. Insurrection, ii. - - - 205
Erlach (d') a founder of Berne, i. - 77
——— *(Ulric)* beats Albert, - 142
——— *(Rudolph)* commands at Laupen, i. 220. Named guardian to the sons of Nidau, 226. Assassinated, - 229
——— *(Lewis)* commands at Mulhausen, ii. - - - 171
——— *(Sigismund)* commands against the rebellious peasants, ii. - 212, 215
——— ( ) commands against the French, ii. 418. Defeated, 428. Assassinated, - - - 431
Erguel, taken by the French, i. - 405
Eschenbach (Walter, Baron of) conspires against King Albert, i. 159. Dies in obscurity, - - 161

F

Farel (William) a reformer, ii. 153. At Geneva, 154. An attempt to poison him, 157
Fatio, a demagogue at Geneva, ii. 307. Executed, - - 327
Finninger (Jas. and *Mat.)* occasion the war of Mulhausen, ii. - - 170
Flue (Nicholas de la) interferes at Stanz, ii. 47
Formula Consensus, ii. - 222
Fornovo, battle of, ii. - - 55
France. Vid. *Charles* VII. *Lewis* XI. *Charles* VIII.
Francis I. King of France, ii. 103. His toilsome march into Italy, 104. Conquers at Marignan, 108. Taken at Pavia, 117. Desires admission into the Protestant union, 146
Franks in Helvetia, i. - - 11, 17
Frastenz, battle of, ii. - - 61
Frauenbrunnen, engagements at, i. 285. ii. - - - 429

Page
Frederick of Austria, i. 165. King of the Germans, 170. Taken at Muhldorf, 184
——— IV. King of the Germans, his designs upon Helvetia, i. 433. Visits Zuric, &c. 437. His conduct in the Burgundian war, ii. - - 2, 19, 21
——— Duke of Austria, comes to the council of Constance, i. 371. Excommunicated, 374. Attacked by the Swiss, 377. Returns to Constance and submits, 379. Dies, - - - 423
——— Burgrave of Nuremberg, commands against Austria, i. - 374
French intrigues in Swisserland, ii. 52, 81
——— revolution, its origin, ii. - 368
———their armies approach the frontiers of Swisserland, ii. 382. Their successes in different parts, 385, 428. Bring charges against the Swiss, 390. Subdue Berne, 430. Their oppressive conduct, 432. See *Swiss*.
Freyenbach, action of, i. - - 442
Friburg built, i. 44, 78. Wars against Berne, 305. Allies with Berne, 328. Surrenders to Savoy, ii. 6. A congress at, 36. Admitted into the confederacy, 47. Constitution, 282. Taken by the French, 424
Fuentes (fort de) built, ii. - 183
Furst (Walter), i. - - 151

G

Galera (treaty of), ii. - - 107
Gallen (St.) abbey, i. 57. Dispute with Rudolph, i. 115, 130 With Albert of Austria, 137, 139. Albert its advocate, 144. Progress towards independence, 273. City leagues with the cantons, ii. 8. Joins Appenzel, 344, 350. Vid. *Cuno, Landenberg*.
Galloway (Viscount) at Zuric, ii. - 229
Gaster, surrenders to Glaris, i. - 305
Geneva, Bishop of, i. - 52, 333
——— Counts of, i. 128. Extinct, 334. The office acquired by Savoy, ii. - 135
——— city, Cæsar secures the passes near, i. 6. Assembly at, 16. Increase, 333. A revolution at, ii. 133. Allies with Berne and Friburg, 136. Reformation, 154. Attempted by Savoy, 168. Scalade of, 174. Disturbances in the eighteenth century, 303. Constitution, 305. Troubles appeased in 1707, 306. An interval of tranquillity, 320. Fresh disturbances, *ib*. Quelled by severity, Page 322. Troubles appeased in 1734, 329. Triumph of the democracy, 336. Dissensions terminated in 1738, 337. Troubles appeased in 1768, 346. Parties of the *negatifs* and *representans*, 348. Insurrection of the natives in 1770, 351. Troubles appeased in 1782, 352. Revolution in 1789, - - 362
Gersau, accedes to the confederacy, i. 263
Gesler (Herman) appointed bailiff, i. 147. Killed by Wm. Tell, - - 155
Glaris, i. 63. Albert its advocate, 144. Summoned by Duke Albert, 240. Joins the Swiss, 241. Admitted into the confederacy, 242. Acquires Wesen, the Gaster, and Sargans, 305. Regulations, 307. War with Austria, 308. Battle of Næfels, 310. League with Zuric, 331. Constitution, ii. - - - 287
Gondebald, King of Burgundy, i. - 16
Gondemar, King of Burgundy, i. - 17
Granson, taken by Charles the Bold, ii. 24. Battle of, - - - 25
Granson (William de), i. - - 277
Gregorian calender, dissensions concerning, ii. - - - 169
Gregory, founds Einsidlen, i. - 69
Griffith (Jevan ap Eynion ap) joins in Coucy's expedition, i. - - 281
Grisons, their conduct in the Suabian war, ii. 60. 64. Afflicted by the war of Valteline, 179. Constitution, 288. Call in the Austrians, - - 465
Gruyeres, Count of, i. - - 48

H

Habeas Corpus act in Tockenburg, i. 423
Hagenbach (Peter de) Burgundian prefect on the Rhine, ii. 11. His oppressive conduct, 15. Beheaded, - - - 17
Haller (C. L.) answers the charges of the French, ii. - - - 391
Hallwyl (John) commands at Morat, ii. 32
Hapsburg, Counts of, i. - - 38
——— *John*, kills King Albert, his uncle, i. 158. Flies, and dies in obscurity, 160
——— *(John)* favours the exiles from Zuric, i. 210, 232. Taken at Zuric, 233. Released, - - 250
——— Lauffenburg *(Rudolph* of) falls at Morgarten, i. - - 177

Page
Hapsburg, castle of, taken by the Berners, i. - - - - 378
Hard, battle of, ii. - - - 61
Harpe (Cæs. Fred. and *Amad. la)* demagogues in the Pays de Vaud, ii. 380, 396
Hasli, first peopled, i. 87. Opposes the reformation, ii. - - - 141
Hauptlisberg, battle at, i. - - 354
Hautecrest abbey, i. - - - 46
Helvetia, face of the country, i. 2. First inhabitants, 4. Desolated, 11. Re-peopled, *ib.* Under the empire, 21, 34. Form of government, i. 22. Vid. *Swisserland.*
Helvetii, i. - - - - 4
Henry I. the Fowler, founds cities, i. 71
Henry IV. Emperor, i. - - - 35
Henry of Luxemburg, Emperor, i. 166. Confirms the privileges of the Swiss, *ib.* Dies, - - - - 170
Henzi's conspiracy at Berne, ii. - 341
Hereditary union with Austria, ii. 15. Renewed, - - - 90
Hericourt, taken by the confederates, ii. 20
Herter (William) commands at Morat, ii. 32. And at Nancy, - - 39
Herzogenbuchs, battle of, ii. - 215
Hetzel (Caspar) Banneret of Berne, put to death, ii. - - - - 99
Heudorf (Pilgrim of) his conduct towards Shaffhausen, ii. - - - 9, 12
Hierarchy, state of, i. - - 365
Hirzel, action of, i. - - 444
Holy truce, i. - - - 34, 49
—— league, ii. - - - 90
Horny senate at Zuric, ii. - - 52
Hugenots, name derived from Eignots, ii. 136. Received in Swisserland, 224

I

Jacob (St.) near Zuric, battle of, i. 447
——— near Basle, battle of, i. 454
Idda, Countess of Hapsburg, founds the abbey of Muri, i. - - 64
Jetzer (imposture of), ii. - - 124
John of Hapsburg. See *Hapsburg.*
John XXIII. Pope, repairs to the council of Constance, i. 371. Flies, 374. Brought back, 380. Deposed, - - 382
John Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, ii. 54. Dies, - - - - 55
Page
Jolantha, Dutchess of Savoy, favours Charles of Burgundy, ii. - - 6
Italian bailiwicks, first invaded by the Swiss, i. 334. Contest for, ii. 79. Ceded by Francis I. 113. Surrender to the French, 442
Julian (peace of St.), ii. - - 137

K

Koenigsfelden abbey, founded by Queen Agnes, i. - - - 163
Kramburg (John, Baron of) summons the Swiss to the war of Laupen, i. - 221
Kyburg, Counts of, i. - 37, 187
——— *(Everard)* grants estates to Berne, i. 188. Allies with the Swiss, 189. Complains of Berne, - - 215
——— *(Rudolph)* attempts Soleure, 285
——— *(County)* surrendered to Zuric, ii. 3

L

Landenberg (Berenger of) appointed bailiff, i. 148. Expelled, - - 157
——— (*Caspar*) Abbot of St. Gallen, allies with the Swiss, ii. - - 7
Lavater's Philippic, ii. - - 445
Laupen (war of), i. - - 213
Lausanne (bishoprick of), i. 48. Transferred to Friburg, ii. - - 159
Lautrec (Marshal de) commands in Lombardy, ii. - - - 115
Leagues in Germany, i. 289; ii. 14. See *Rhætia, Grisons.*
Lenzburg, Counts of, i. - - 37
——— *(Ulric* of) Advocate of Schwitz, i. - - - - 90
Leo X. Pope, i. 95. Occasions the reformation, 127. Dies, - - 137
Leopold, Duke of Austria, avenges his father's death, i. 162. Co-operates with his brother Frederick, 166. Enraged against the Swiss, 171. Invades them, 172. Defeated at Morgarten, 174. Besieges Soleure, 197. Dies, - - 185
——— son of the above, wages war against the Swiss, i. 304. A peace, 317. Attempts to divide the confederates, 319
——— son of Duke Albert of Austria, obtains the Argau, Kyburg, &c. i. 279.

Page
His policy, 290. Attacks the Swiss, 293. Killed at Sempach, - - 301
Lewis of Bavaria, King of the Germans, i. 170. Confirms the liberties of the Swiss, 183. Unfriendly to Berne, - 215
Lewis XI. King of France, invades Swisserland, i. 452. Allies with the confederates, ii. 3, 11, 12. Makes peace with Charles the Bold, 22. A treaty with the confederates, - - - - 48
Lewis XII. King of France, claims Milan, ii. 54, 58. Takes Milan, 76. Expelled, 90. Dies, - - - 103
Lewis Sforza, the Moor, Duke of Milan, ii. 53, 55, 76. Taken and dies in France, 78
Leuenberger, heads the revolted peasants, ii. 210. Executed, - - 217
Lucern, its origin, i. 79. Attacks Underwalden, 169. Admitted into the confederacy, 191. A conspiracy, 194. Acquires territories, 325. Its peasants revolt, ii. 209. Constitution of, 282. Revolution, 408

M

Mace, ostracism of the, i. - - 385
Mad society, ii. - - 45
Madrid, treaty of, ii. - - 189
Maitre (le), a demagogue at Geneva, ii. 310. Executed, - - - 324
Malsbcide, battle of, ii. - - 64
Mamalukes at Geneva, ii. - 136
Manesse (Roger) patron of learning, i. 204. Victorious at Tatwyl, 244. Burgomaster of Zuric, - - - 268
Martin V. Pope, i. - - 383
Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, marries Maximilian of Austria, ii. - 40
Maurice (St.) abbey, founded, i. 66. Assembly at, - - - 20
Maximilian I. marries Mary of Burgundy, ii. 40. Succeeds to the empire, 56. Marches against the confederates, - - 68
Maximilian Sforza, ii. 91. Put in possession of Milan, 93. Taken, and dies in France, 113
Meinrad, founds Einsidlen, i. - 68
Melchthal (Arnold of), i. - - 151
Mengaud, French agent in Swisserland, ii. 395, 400, 415
Milan. Vid. *Sforza, Lewis*.
——— capitulate of, ii. - - 7
Page
Milan, wars of, ii. 75. Peace, - 113
——— conventions of, ii. - - 191
Mode de Vivre, a treaty between Savoy and Geneva, ii. - - - 179
Monçon, treaty of, ii. - - 195
Montfort (William de) Abbot of St. Gallen, oppressed by King Rudolph, i. 130. Flies to King Adolphus, 141. Dies, - 144
Morat, battle of, ii. - - 31
Morges built, i. - - 44
Mulhausen receives privileges, i. - 139
——— (war of), ii. 170. Taken by the French, - - 406
Mulleren, a founder of Berne, i. - 77
Munzer (Thomas) an anabaptist teacher, ii. - - - 139
Murbach abbey, sovereign of Lucern, i. 80
Muri abbey, i. - - 64

N

Nabholz (J. U.) commands in the war of Tockenburg, ii. - - 237
Næfels, battle of, i. - - 310
Neuchattel, Counts of, i. 47, 276, 333. Coburghers of Berne, ii. 9. Succession of, 230
——— town of, enters into co-burgher-ship with Berne, i. 333. Seized by the confederates, ii. - - - 91
Nidau (Rudolph, Count of) complains of Berne, i. 214. Slain, - - 283
Nobles, war with the, i. - - 291
Novarra, battle of, ii. - - 97
Nuys, besieged by Charles the Bold, ii. 18

O

Oberland, i. 97. Its nobles restrained, 140. Distracted by parties, - - 187
Ochs (Peter) a demagogue at Basle, ii. 402, 452
Orbe taken by the confederates, ii. - 21
Ostrogoths, in Helvetia, i. - 12, 17

P

Pavia, battle of, ii. - - 117
Paul, battle of St. i. - - - 393

Page
Peasants, insurrection of the, ii. - 203
Pepin, King of the Franks, i. - 18
Peter, Count of Savoy, i. 95, 101. Dies, 123
Philip, Count of Savoy, wars with Rudolph I. i. - - - - 123
Plague, anno 1349, i. - - 227
Planta family, i. - - 338
——— (*Conrad*), i. 405. John, Baron of Razuns, ii. - - - 181
——— (*Rudolph* and *Pompey*), ii. 183, 185, 189, 190, 198
Priest's ordinance, i. - - 265

R

Ramschwag (Baron of) his attempts on Lucern, i. - - 192, 194
Rapperswyl, Counts of, i. - - 47
——— town and castle demolished by Brun, i. 234. Acquired by Austria, 278. Besieged by Zuric, 314. Surrenders to the Swiss, ii. - - 3
Rapinat, French commissary, ii. 444, 452, 453
Raron war of), i. - - 385
Reding (*Ital*) of Bibereg, Landamman of Schwitz, i. - - - 413
——— (*Walter*) advises the Swiss, before the battle of Morgarten, i. - 174
Reformation, ii. 120. Its causes, 121. List of reformers, 131. Dissensions in consequence, 143. Hostilities, 144. Pacification, - - - 150
Regensberg, Baron of, disputes with Zuric, i. - - - 114
René, Duke of Lorrain, his concerns in the war of Burgundy, ii. 7. Attacked by Charles the Bold, 23. Attacks Charles, 37. Defeats him at Nancy, - 38
Reuss river, its course, i. - - 3
Rhœti, i. - - - 6
Rhœtia, presidents of, i. 36. Its state, 274. Leagues, 336, 398. Vid. *Grisons*.
Rhine, its course, i. - - 3
Rhone, its course, i. - - 3
Richterswyl, engagement at, ii. - 440
Rinkenberg, feud of, i. - - 266
Roban (Duke of) commands in the Grisons, ii. - - - - 197
Roman emperors (times of the), i. - 9
Roseneck, Baroness of, her conjugal fidelity, ii. - - - 68
Rougemont priory, i. - - 46
Rousseau (*J. J.*) censured by the magistrates of Geneva, ii. - - 347
Roust (*Mark*) Burgomaster of Zuric, commands at Marignan, ii. - 108, 109
Rudolph I. King of Burgundy, i. - 20
——— II. i. - - - 17
——— III. i. - - - *ib.*
——— Count of Hapsburg, Advocate of Underwalden, i. 91. Imperial commissary over the three forest cantons, - 92
——— I. King of the Romans, his infancy, i. 94. Youth, 107. Dawn of his prosperity, 109. Age of manhood, 110. Advocate of Schwitz, 112. Captain of Zuric, 114. Disputes with St. Gallen, 115. And Basle, 116. On the Imperial throne, 119. Character, 110, 119. Conduct towards the cities, 120. The nobles, 122. The clergy, *ib.* Proposes to revive the kingdom of Burgundy, 123. Wars with Savoy, *ib.* With Berne, 126 With the Counts of Burgundy, 124, 129. His old age, 130. Death, - - 132
——— Bishop of Constance, allies against Albert of Austria, i. - - 137
——— Palatine Archduke of Austria, acquires the Tyrol, i. - - 277
Rutli, meetings at, i. - - 152

S

Salis (*de*) family, i. 338; ii. - 181, 186
——— *Rudolph*, ii. - 192, 193
Samson (*Bernardino*) sells indulgences in Swisserland, ii. 128. Recalled, - 131
Sargans, yields to Glaris, i. - 306
Savoy, Counts of, i. 45. War with Rudolph, i. - - - 123
——— Dukes of, their conduct in the war of Burgundy, ii. - - 5
Sax (*George de Ober*) rival of the Cardinal of Sion, ii. 85. Dies, - 137
——— (*Ulric de Hohen*), ii. - 97
Schawemburg, commands the French in Swisserland, ii. 421, 436. Attacks and exterminates the Underwalders, 457. Marches against the Grisons, - - 464
Schwaderloch, battle of, ii. - 66
Schwitz, i. 87. First noticed, 89. Rudolph I. its advocate, 112. Contest with Einsidlen, 167, 169. War with Zuric, 407, 420, 424. Constitution, ii. - 286

Page
Seckingen abbey, i. - - 62
Seizeniers, i - - 140
Sempach, battle of, i. - - 297
——— decree of, i. - - 320
Servetus (*Michael*) burnt at Geneva, ii. 161
Sforza (*Gal. Mar.*) Duke of Milan, aids Charles of Burgundy, ii. 6. Vid. *Lewis the Moor, John Galeazzo, Maximilian.*
Shaffhausen, its origin, i. 74. Progress towards independence, 329. Leagues with the cantons, ii. 8. Admitted into the confederacy, 78. Constitution, 285
Shaumburg (*Ulric* Count of), i. - 277
Shinner (*Matthew*). Vid. *Sion.*
Shosshalde, action of, i. - - 128
Shybi, a leader of the rebellious peasants, ii. 215. Executed, - - 216
Sigismund, King of Burgundy, i. - 17
——— King of the Germans, visits Swisserland, i. 370. Dies, - - 419
——— Duke of Austria, his conduct in the war of Burgundy, ii. 2, 10. Hereditary union with the cantons, 15. Dies, 56
Sion, Bishop of, i. - - 51
—— (*Matthew Shinner*) Cardinal of, ii. 85. Persecutes Ober Sax, 88. Conduct at Marignan, 107. Excites fresh troubles, 114. Dies, - - - 137
Soleure, its origin, i. 75. Besieged by Duke Leopold, 197. Attempted by Rudolph of Kyburg, 285. Acquires territories, 327. Admitted into the confederacy, ii. 47. Constitution, 283. Taken by the French, 423
Solomon, Abbot of St. Gallen, i. - 59
Speicher, battle at the, i. - 348
Spoon, fraternity of the, ii. - - 137
Stadion (*Walter de*) defeated by the Glarners, i. - - - - 242
Stanz, diet at, ii. 47. Covenant of, 48. Taken and burnt, - - 459
Statistical view of the confederacy, ii. 246
Stauffacher (*Werner*) honoured at Schwitz, i. 148. Concerts with Furst and Melchthal, - - - - 151
Steiguer (Avoyer) resigns his office, 427. Flies to Bregenz, - - 430
Stocker's mission to England, ii. - 218
Stoss, battle at the, i. - - 353
Strasberg (*Otho* Count of) commands against the Swiss, i. 173. Defeated, 178. Decays, - - - 183
Stussi (*Rudolph*) Burgomaster of Zuric, i. 412. Slain, - - 450
Page
Suabian war, ii. 42. Its origin, 57. Peace, 72
Swiss, their origin, i. 84. First constitution, 85. Quarrel with Einsidlen, 89. Assist the Emperor, 107. Compact with Albert of Austria, 135. Receive a charter from King Adolphus, 140. Receive a captious message from Albert, 146. Their character, 149, 151. Oppressed, *ib.* Expel the Austrian bailiffs, 156. Attacked by Duke Leopold, 172. Defeat him at Morgarten, 174. Assist King Lewis, 184. March into Italy, 185, 196. ii. 90. Stiled defenders of the faith, 91. Their independence acknowledged, 203. Their troops insulted in France, 375. Invaded by the French, 413. Collect forces against the French invasion, 418, 422, 426. Attacked, 422. Mutiny, 425. Successful at Laupen and Neweneck, 428. Worsted at Frauenbrunnen, Urteren, Grauholtz, and near Berne, 429. Assassinate their officers, 426, 430, 431. Disarmed, - - 433
Swisserland, state of, i. 198, 288. ii. 372, 444, 462

T

Tables (statistical), ii. - - 249
Tatwyl, battle of, i. - - 243
Tegerfeld (*Conrad de*) conspires against King Albert, i. - - 159
Tell (*William*), i. 154. Kills Gesler, 155. His death and descendants, - 156
Tigurini, i. - - 5
Theodorick, King of the Ostrogoths, i. 12
Thorberg, truce of, i. - - 259
Thun, granted to Berne, i. - - 188
Thurgau, taken by the confederates, ii. 2, 72
Tockenburg, Counts of, i. 48. Ally with Zuric, 340. Succession of, 409. New laws, 423. War of, - - 231
Tremouille (*Lewis de la*) commands in Lombardy, ii. 77, 96. At Dijon, - 100
Trivulci (*Marshal*) Governor of Milan, ii. 76, 96. Leads an army into Italy, ii. 104
Truns, a league formed at, i. - 400
Tschudi (*Jobst*) Landamman of Glaris, i. 417
Tuilleries, massacre at the, ii. - 377

V

Page

Valais, i. 6. Its constitution, ii. 290. Surrenders to the French, 442. Vid. *Raron*, *Sion*.
Valengin (*Gerard* Count of) commands the nobles against Berne, i. - 216
Valteline, first ceded to the Grisons, ii. 91. And by Francis I. 113. War of, 179. Massacre of, 186. Torn from the confederacy, - - - 394
Vaud (*Pays de*) its state under Savoy, i. 275. Taken by the confederates, ii. 35. Restored to Savoy, 36. Seized by Berne and Friburg, 158. The people disaffected, 373, 379, 396
Vaudois, aided by the Swiss, ii. 220, 226
Velcaib (*Jevan ap*) joins in Coucy's expedition, i. - - 281
Vergennes, his letter to the cantons, ii. 355
Vesalia (*John de*) preaches at Worms, ii. 126
Villemergen, battle of, ii. - 242
Underwalden, i. 87. Attacked by Lucern, 169. Marches in favour of Hasli, 187. Constitution, ii. 286. Assailed by the French, 455. The people exterminated, 458
Uri, i. 87. Constitution, ii. - 285

W

Waldman (*John*) commands at Morat, ii. 32. His catastrophe, - - - 49
Waldshut, besieged by the confederates, ii. 9. Peace of, - - - *ib.*
Wart (*Rudolph* Baron of) conspires against King Albert, i. 159. Broken on the wheel, 161. His Baroness dies at Basle, - *ib.*
Watteville (*James*) commands an expedition into Burgundy, ii. - - 100
——— *de Landshut*, pleads for the insurgents at Berne, ii. - - 343
Weggis, admitted into the confederacy, i. 264
Weiss (Colonel) his conduct in the revolution, ii. - - 385, 410
Weissenburg, Baron of, Prefect of Hasli, i. 183, 189. Becomes co-burgher of Berne, 191
Wengi, Avoyer of Soleure, his spirited conduct, ii. - - - 146

Page

Werdenberg, Counts of, i 340. ii. - 59
Werdmuller, commands against the rebellious peasants, ii. - - 214
Wesen, taken by Glaris, i. 305. Conspiracy at, - - - 307
Westphalia, treaty of, ii. - - 199
Wetstein (*J. R.*) Burgomaster of Basle, sent to the congress of Munster, ii. - 202
Wettingen abbey, i. - - 113
Wiccard, founds the abbey of St. Leodigard, i. - - - 80
Windeck, claimed by Zuric, i. - 412
Windish, Vindonissa, i. - - 8
Winkelried (*A. S. de*) his heroism, and death at Sempach, i. - - 300
Winterthur, *Rudolph's* charter to, i. 121. Surrendered to Zuric, ii. - - 3
Wolleb (*Henry*) his brave conduct at Frastenz, ii. - - - 62
Wolfenshies, takes the command of Rossberg, i. 150. Killed, - - 151
Wolfshalde, battle at the, i. - - 355
Wrangel, a Swedish general, ii. - 200

Y

Yverdun, Ebrodunum, i. 8. Rebuilt, 44

Z

Zæringen, Dukes of, i. - - 41
——— *Berthold* I. i. - - *ib.*
——— II. i. - - *ib.*
——— III. i. - - 43
——— IV. i. 43. Founds Friburg, - - - 78
——— V. i. 44. Founds Berne, 76
——— *Conrad*, i. - - 43
Zellner's remonstrance, ii. - 448
Zoffingen, taken by Berne, i. - 377
Zug, received in the confederacy, i. 247. A dispute between the city and the rural districts, 330. Constitution, ii. - 286
Zuric, i. 63. Its minster, *ib.* Ladies' monastery, 64. Its rise, 71. Declared imperial, 94. State of, 99. Alliance with Schwitz and Uri, 113. Rudolph I. its captain, 114. Allies against Albert of

Page
Austria, 137. Receives privileges, 140. Besieged by Albert, 143. First territory possessed by, 166. Estranged from the Swiss, 170. Change in its constitution, 201. Admitted into the confederacy, 235. Besieged by Duke Albert, 249. Allies with Duke Albert, 257. Its state, 268. Acquires sundry territories, 324. Constitutional act of, 322. Takes Baden, &c. 379. War of, 407. Pacification, 432. Joins Austria, 435. War renewed, 440. Constitution, ii. 283. Revolution, 406, 433
Zwinglius (*Ulric*), ii. 126. Preaches at Zuric, 130, 137. Marries, 138. Disputes with Luther, 142. Killed, 149. His character, - - *ib.*

Printed by W. Bulmer and Co.
Russel-court, Cleveland-row,
St. James's.

Their MAJESTIES and the whole of the ROYAL FAMILY have been graciouſly pleaſed to patronize Mr. STOCKDALE's Publication of

CHAUCHARD'S MAPS OF GERMANY, ITALY, &c.

On ſixteen large ſheets, nine feet by eight; together with a reduction of the whole on three large ſheets, four feet ſix inches by two feet nine inches, and twenty-four Plans of Cities.

BY SUBSCRIPTION WILL BE PUBLISHED,

Price, to Subſcribers, only Three Guineas, or, to Non-ſubſcribers, Five Guineas,

A GENERAL MAP

OF THE

Empire of Germany, Holland, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the Griſons, and the Northern Part of Italy.

BY CAPTAIN CHAUCHARD,

MILITARY ENGINEER TO THE COUNT D'ARTOIS.

Publiſhed by JOHN STOCKDALE, Piccadilly.

AT the earneſt ſolicitation of ſome friends, Mr. STOCKDALE has undertaken the Engraving of CHAUCHARD's incomparable MAP, allowed by the moſt competent judges to be the beſt Map of thoſe Countries extant. It cannot now be purchaſed at any price, and could it even be procured, the Plates are ſo extremely worn down, as ſcarcely to leave the impreſſion of the words legible, and conſequently to render the French copy of no value.

No money is required until the delivery of the Work; but as the expenſe of Engraving, &c. will be ſome THOUSAND POUNDS, Mr. Stockdale will conſider himſelf obliged by being favoured with the names of ſuch Ladies and Gentleman as may wiſh to be poſſeſſed of it.

A Second Proof Specimen of the Work may now be ſeen at Mr. Stockdale's. It may either be preſerved on rollers, or as an Atlas.

Piccadilly, February 1800.

The Subſcription will finally cloſe on the 31ſt March, and in the courſe of the following month the Maps, &c. will be delivered.

N. B. In conſequence of the royal, noble, and very liberal patronage already received, of which a liſt is ſubjoined, the Publiſher has reſolved to give, to the Subſcribers only, without any additional charge, neatly printed in one large volume royal quarto, illuſtrated with twenty-four Plans of Cities, or to Non-ſubſcribers, price Two Guineas, a GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, and POLITICAL ACCOUNT of the COUNTRIES DESCRIBED: with a REDUCTION of the GENERAL MAP, by CAPTAIN CHAUCHARD; and a GAZETTEER of Reference to the principal Places. A Liſt of the Subſcribers will be printed with the Volume.

THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

THE QUEEN's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales
Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales
Field Marſhal his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, two copies
Her Royal Highneſs the Ducheſs of York
His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Clarence
His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Kent
His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland
His Royal Highneſs Prince Auguſtus Frederick
His Royal Highneſs Prince Adolphus Frederick
Her Royal High. the Ducheſs of Wirtemberg
Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Auguſta Sophia
Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Elizabeth
Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Mary
Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Sophia
Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Amelia
Field Marſhal his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter
His Highneſs Prince William of Glouceſter
Her R. H. the reigning Ducheſs of Brunſwick

A LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS

ADDINGTON, Rt. Hon. Henry, Speaker of the H. of Commons
Adams, his Excellency John, President of the United States of America
Armytage, John, esq.
Allen, Andrew, esq.
Ancram, Countess of
Abercromby, Lt.-gen. Sir Rt. K. B.
Auchmuty, Lieutenant-col.
Arrowsmith, Mr. A. 10 copies
Arbuthnot, Mr.
Aldborough, Earl of
Almeida, Chevalier d'
Athenæum at Liverpool
Archer, Mr. John, 50 copies
Agassiz, Lewis, esq.
Arnold, George, esq.
Adams, Thomas, esq.
Aikman, Captain John
Atherton, William, esq.
Aikin, Francis, esq. jun.
Astley, Jacob, esq.
Averney, General, Marines
Arnott, H. R. esq.
Allen, Robert, esq.
Aylesford, Earl of
Abington, Major
Aubrey, Richard, esq.
Ashley, Hon. Cropley
Arch, Messr. J. and A. two copies
Addison, Edward, esq.
A'Court, Sir W. P. A. Bart.
Acland, Lieutenant-col.
Archer, Edward, esq.
Adair, Alexander, esq.
Adair, William, esq.
Aust, George, esq.
Adair, Rev. Mr.
Aldworth, R. R. esq.
Anadia, M. le Vicomte d'
Admiralty Office
Adam, J. W. esq.
Anderson, John, esq.
Anderson, James, esq.
Anderson, David, esq.
Arden, John, esq.
Armstrong, Major, 5th Drag. Guards
Allen, Jefferys, esq.
Acland, Hugh, esq.
Angerstein, John Julius, esq.
Armit and Borough, Messr.
Athorpe, Thomas, esq.
Abercorn, Marquis of
Annesley, W. esq.
Annesley, Francis, esq.
All Souls College Oxford
Amherst, Lord
Abbot, Charles, esq.
Anstey, John, esq.
Atherton, Lieut.-col.
Armstrong, Wm. Henry, esq.
Brownrigg, Colonel
Baber, Edward, esq.
Bracken, Rev. Thomas
Bland, General
Blair, Captain Thomas
Boringdon, Lord
Boehm, Edmund, esq.
Bootle, Edw. Wilbraham, esq.
Brodrick, Hon. W.
Berens, Joseph, esq. jun.
Bagshaw, John, esq.
Bramstone, Lt.-col. S. Essex Mil.
Broadley, Robert Carlile, esq.
Beresford, Rev. Mr. Charles
Biggin, George, esq.
Bremner, Mr. David
Buller, John, esq.
Bentinck, Governor
Balfour, Blaney, esq.
Braddyll, Col. W.
Briggs, Rev. Mr. Chancellor
Broderip, Mr. C.
Balfour, Francis, esq.
Bill, Charles, esq.
Bunbury, Capt. 16th L. Drag.
Bright, Richard, esq.
Bentinck, Lord Charles
Bancroft, Sam. Forrester, esq.
Bankes, William, esq.
Borough, Richard, esq.
Bewicke, Lt.-col. Dur. Mil.
Baskerville, Colonel
Barwis, Jackson, esq. two copies
Barry, Henry, esq.
Brydges, Lieut.-col.
Burgess, Colonel J.
Burgess, Sir James Bland, Bt.
Bowyer, Major-general
Brooke, Thomas, esq.
Bell and Bradfute, Messr. 20 cop.
Birch, Deputy
Blackburne, John, esq.
Bright, Lowbridge, esq.
Baldwin, William, esq.
Baldwin, Mr. Robert
Bouillé, Colonel Comte de
Bull and Co. Messr.
Bonham, Henry, esq.
Barwell, Richard, esq.
Barwell, Thomas Smith, esq.
Balme, Rev. E.
Burton, James, esq.
Bourne, John Taylor, esq.
Bilton, Joseph, esq.
Brandling Charles James, esq.
Bushby, John, esq.
Baillie, Rev. Charles
Brown, Mr. John
Basevi, George, esq.
Baratty, James, esq.
Beauclerk, Lord Amelius
Bentinck, Colonel Henry
Bingham, Lieut.-colonel
Babington, Dr.
Buller, Major Fred. 38th Reg.
Balgonie, Lord Viscount
Boddington, Samuel, esq.
Boddington, Thomas, esq.
Beaver, Rev. James
Brown, Launcelot, esq.
Barnett, Brigadier-general
Baker, Sir George, Bart.
Bridgin, Cornet, 16th L. Drag.
Baldwin, Mr. Charles
Baratty, John Pool, esq.
Bell, Mr. J. four copies
Brenton, E. B. esq.
Blacks, Messr. four copies
Barnes, Mr. two copies
Browne, R. Capt. R. Irish Inv.
Braybrooke, Lord
Brown, Mr. William
Bacon, Joseph, esq.
Bellingham, Sir Wm. Bart.
Beach, Michael Hicks, esq.
Blewitt, Major
Berkeley, earl of
Bertram, Lieut.-colonel
Bousfield, B. esq.
Barnard, Thomas, esq.
Brodie, Alexander, esq.
Bourne, Robert, esq.
Bouillon, Prince de
Boyle, Lord
Blood, Bindon, esq.
Bennett, John, esq.
Bond, William, esq.
Bell, Dr.
Bell, George, esq.
Bell, Mr. John
Bective, earl of
Burrard, Philip, esq.
Beckford, Francis Love, esq.
Butcher, Edward, esq.
Bigg, T. esq. three copies
Borthwick, Major Royal Art.
Bischoff, Thomas, esq.
Brown, Mr. Thomas
Barry, Robert, esq.
Beswicke, Mr. John
Bowdoin, Hon. James
Bourke, Capt. 1st Foot Gds.
Black, George, esq.
Beaumont, Colonel
Blundell, William, esq.
Brownlow, Rev. James
Barratt, Mr. Jos. two copies
Brough, Job Charlton, esq.
Bagwell, Lieut.-colonel
Bradshaw, Major
Boyce, Mr. William
Balfour, Lieut.-col. 57th Reg.
Blandford, Marquis of
Ball, Benjamin, esq.
Burston, Beresford, esq.
Bickerstaff, Mr. John,
Baker, Rev. W. Lloyd

Barne, Lieut.-col. 75th L. Dra.
Biddulph, Charles, esq.
Blandy, John, esq.
Burgess, B. esq.
Barker, Samuel, esq.
Barnes, John, esq.
Burgh, Rev. Mr.
Berens, Edward, esq.
Birch, Major, 16th Lt. Drag.
Bond, Mr. Thomas
Berens, Joseph, esq.
Barker, Tho. Raymond, esq.
Bathurst, Earl
Brisco, W. esq.
Bullock, Colonel
Broke, Capt. 5th Foot
Bicker, J. esq.
Boultbee, Thomas, esq.
Boughton, Sir C. W. Rouse, Bt.

Clare, Earl of, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland
Craufurd, Sir James, Bart.
Craufurd, Colonel Robert
Craufurd, Rev. Mr.
Cowper, Henry, esq.
Carhampton, Gen. the Earl of
Cookson, John, esq.
Chamberlaine, John, esq.
Cartwright, Wm. Ralph, esq.
Chetwynd, Lord Viscount
Clermont, Earl of
Cornish, Admiral
Camden, Earl
Clarke, George Hyde, esq.
Capel, Hon. Edward
Churchill, Lieut-colonel
Cumming, James, esq.
Cumming, George, esq.
Clarke, John, esq.
Crosbie, W. A. esq. two copies
Cornwallis, General the Marquis, K. G.
Castlereagh, Lord Viscount
Carter, Thomas, esq.
County Hall Coffee-house, Salop
Coote, Colonel
Collier, Capt. G. Ralph, R. N.
Clarke, George, esq.
Cockburn, Major
Craig, Maj.-gen. Sir J. H. K.B.
Craddock, Major-general
Chambers, Major W. 36th Reg.
Crawshay, Richard, esq.
Corbet, Capt. Sir Corbet, Bart.
Corry, Right Hon. Isaac
Campbell, Donald, esq.
Crawford, Dr.
Coghlan, Lt.-col. R. 82d Reg.
Cartwright, Colonel
Cayley, Captain
Chambers, Rev. William
Collier, Henry, Esq.

Clayton, Lieut.-colonel
Crosby, Mr.
Clowes, Lt. Queen's own Drag.
Craven, Lord
Chetham's Library, Manchester
Clealand, Captain James
Cooke, Mr. Magd. Col. Oxford
Cornewall, Sir George, Bart.
Clephane, Colonel, 3d Guards
Coryton, John, esq.
Chandler, H. J. esq.
Champagne, Rev. George
Crosby and Letterman, Messf. four copies
Carpenter, Mr. two copies
Cochrane, Hon. Capt. 78th Reg.
Chamley, Mr.
Cook, Col. Sir Geo. Bart.
Creswell, R. C. esq.
Cox, R. Kilby, esq.
Cox and Greenwood, Messf.
Chase, Richard, esq.
Corbett, William, esq.
Cholmondeley, Lt.-col. 4th R.
Cholmondeley, Charles, esq.
Constable, Edward, esq.
Craven, Capt. Royal Invalids
Chichester, C. esq.
Croft, Richard, esq.
Craven, Maj. Chas. L.I.F.R.
Clitherow, Colonel
Conolly, Col. Rt. Hon. Tho.
Cavendish, George, esq.
Chambers, Dr.
Cowper, Hon. Edw. Spencer
Cowper, Chas. esq. two copies
Clements, Lord
Campbell, Lieut.-col. James
Caldwell, Sir John, Bart.
Craig, Lieutenant-general
Cooper, Colonel
Cooke, Rev. Edward
Crutchley, Jeremiah, esq.
Cockburne, Colonel
Check, Mr.
Clarges, Capt. 35th Reg.
Coxe, Rev. William
Chambre, Sir A.
Calvert, Colonel
Collinson, Rev. Dr.
Claye, Rev. William
Crawford, Stewart, M.D.
Chamberlain, Rev. T. H.
Circello, Marquis
Cruger, Peter, esq.
Cavendish, Hon. Frederick
Curzon, Hon. Captain
Cooper, R. esq.
Clarke, Captain George
Clark, James, esq.
Clavering, Colonel
Cramer, Marmaduke, esq.
Collins, John, jun. esq.
Chitty, Charles, esq.

Compton, Spencer, esq.
Clark, Richard, esq.
Craufuird, Dr. W. K.
Childe, William, esq.
Campbell, Sir Alexander, Bt.
Corrie, Rev. John
Champion, Mr. George
Capel, Hon. Mr.
Causton, Rev. Thomas
Calvert, N. esq.
Cotton, Col. 25th Dragoons
Collins, Robert, esq.
Cowper, Earl
Cooke, Bryan, esq.
Darlington, Earl of
Drinkwater, Lieut.-colonel
Dowell, William, esq.
Downshire, Marquis of
Drummond, Colonel
Disney, Colonel
Dewar, John, esq.
Dundas, Right Hon. Mr.
Dundas, Lieut-general
Dublin Society
Darby, Lieut-col. Wm. John
Davison, Alexander, esq.
Davison, Crawford, esq.
Dickins, Francis, esq.
D'Erval, Colonel
Dunkin, Lieut. 28th Lt. Drag.
Dickins, Colonel
Douglas, Col. Angush. Fen.
Denne, Cornelius, esq.
Degereaux, le Vicomte
Donelan, Captain, 13th Foot
Dashwood, C. Vere Bertie, esq.
Dalrymple, Captain Marton
Drummond, John, esq.
Downing, George, esq.
Durnford, Charles, esq.
Du Cane, Peter, jun. esq.
Dashwood, Sir Henry, Bart.
Dunning, John, M. D.
Davenport, Rev. William
Downes, Mr. Justice
Dorington, John, esq.
Durell, Lieut.-colonel
Dowdeswell, Thomas, esq.
Dent, John, esq.
Dublin Library Society
Dymoke, the Hon. Champion
Dalling, Sir Windham, Bart. two copies
Drew, Stephen, esq.
Drew, Lieut. John, R. N.
Danby, William, esq.
De la Chaumette, H. A.
Dalton, Maj. West Kent Reg.
Darnley, Earl of, two copies
Dempster, George, esq.
Dickenson, Wm. jun. esq.
Davenport, R. A. esq.
Donovan, Richard, esq.
Donovan, George, esq.

Darton and Harvey, Meſſrs. four copies
Davie, Major, 5th Reg. Foot
Drury, Capt. 5th Reg. Foot
Daniel, John, eſq.
Dealtry, Henry, eſq.
Douglas, Rev. Mr.
Duncan, Beveridge, eſq.
Dorrien, Major
De Lancy, Major-general
Dorrien, Thomas, eſq.
Darell, Henry, eſq.
Danſay, Mr. John
Dodſley, Rev. Richard
Deſſenaw, John Fred. eſq.
Duncan, Hon. A.

Eſſex, Earl of
Elliſon, Richard, eſq.
Elliſon, Henry, eſq.
Elliſon, Maj. J. 2nd W. York
Erving, George, eſq.
Elford, Lieut.-colonel
Edmunds, Francis, eſq. jun.
Edmonds, Mr. W.
Egerton, M. General
Edmonſtone, Rev. George
Edmonſtone, Charles, eſq.
Eardley, Hon. S. E.
Erſkine, Lieut.-col. Sir W. Bt.
Ellis, Captain George
Edwards and Son, Meſſ.
Exſhaw, Alderman, 25 copies
Elliot, General
Everard, Edward, jun. eſq.
Emerſon, Dr.
Exeter, Earl of
Evans, Rev. Mr.
Evans, Captain Charles
Eliot, Hon. John
Earle and Hemet, Meſſ. 2 cop.
Evans, C. eſq.
Evans, John, eſq.
Erſkine, Colonel, K.L.D.
Edmiſton, Rev. William
Evans, Mr. John
Elliot, Maj. J. Com. W.V.C.
Elphin, Lord Biſhop of
Euſtace, Lieut.-general
Elton, Capt. South Glou. Mili.
Eden, Sir Frederick, Bart.
Earle, Giles, eſq.
Evans, Rev. James
Elliot's Rooms, Edinburgh
Eyton, Rev. John Wynne
Edge, Thomas Webb, eſq.
Edgſon, John, eſq.
Egerton, William, eſq.
Ellis, Major-general
Edwards, Lady Jane
Elley, Brigade-major

Fladgate, Francis, eſq.
Frere, E. eſq.
Flint, Charles William, eſq.
Finch, Hon. Charles
Forbes, George, eſq.
Frere, Lieut. R. H. Art.
Forſter, Capt. 40th Regiment
Fage, Mr. William
Fleming, Sir Michael le, Bart.
Franklin, Governor William
Fitzhenry, Thomas, eſq.
Fitzroy, Lord Charles
Forbes, Major-general
Forbes, Captain Robert
Fiſher, Edward, eſq.
Foveaux, Michael, eſq.
Ferris, Samuel, M.D.
Foſter, Frederick, eſq.
Fawcett, Mr. John
Finucane, Capt. S. Glou. Mil.
Forbes, Rev. John, D.D.
Fludyer, G. eſq.
Fry, W. J. Lieut. 16th Lt. Drag.
Foſter, Dr.
Forſter, Charles Francis, eſq.
Foſs, Chriſtopher, eſq.
Frere, George, eſq.
Forſter, John, eſq.
Ford, Richard, eſq.
Forſyth, William, eſq.
Faulder, Mr. Robt. 6 copies
Freeman, Lieut.-col. I. 16th F.
French, Capt. J. 4th D. Gds.
Forteſcue, Chicheſter, eſq.
Fiſher, Mr. F. G.
Fletcher, Sir Thomas, Bart.
Fox, Hon. Lieut.-general
Fawcett, Right Hon. Gen. Sir W. K.B.
Freeling, Francis, eſq.
Fawkes, Colonel
French, Savage, eſq.
Froude, Rev. R. H.
Favene, Peter, eſq.
Forſter, Rev. Edward
Findlay, Captain
Fonnereau, Henry, eſq.
Friday, Sebaſtian, eſq.
Foljamb, F. F. eſq.
Farrington, M. Gen.

Gordon, Rev. Sir Adam, Bt.
Gordon, Sir Francis, Bart.
Gordon, William, eſq.
Gordon, Robert Horne, eſq.
Gordon, John, eſq.
Gordon, General Andrew
Gordon, Rev. George
Gordon, Major Willoughby
Gay, Nicholas, eſq. F.R.S.
Gage, Colonel Lord Viſcount
Gun, George, eſq.
Gebhardt, A. G. eſq.
Greville, the Rt. Hon. Charles
Greenland, Mr.
Gould, Francis, eſq.
Graham, Robert, eſq. for the Board of Exciſe in Scotland
Godfal, P. eſq.
Graham, Capt. John
Grantham, Rev. Valentine
Gore, Arthur, eſq.
Grey de Wilton, Lord
Gambier, Major, 1ſt Life Gds.
Gott, Benjamin, eſq.
Goſſip, William, eſq.
Greaves, William, eſq.
Garrett, William, eſq.
Glanville, Lieut.-colonel
Goodwin, Henry, eſq.
Grand Parade Club, Cork
Gibſon, James, eſq.
Girardot, John Charles, eſq.
Grey, Lord
Goodinge, Rev. Dr.
Graham, John Andr. LL.D.
Gould, Richard, eſq.
Gibſon, Thomas, eſq.
Green, Gen. Sir Wm. Bart.
Gibbons, Sir William, Bart.
Grindall, Captain R. N.
Giffard, Harding, eſq.
Gilder, Lt. Wm. 3d Kent Mil.
Garriſon Library of Gibraltar
Gibbons, John, eſq.
Grimſton, Lord Viſcount
Glouceſter, the Chapter of
Graham, Lieut. C. Royal Eng.
Greenhill, Robert, eſq.
Gore, C. eſq.
Grimes, Abraham, eſq.
Grinfield, Lieut.-general
Goodall, Rev. Dr.
Goold, C. D. eſq.
Gardner, Mr. John
Gabell, Rev. Henry
Gretton, Rev Dr.
Greſley, Richard, eſq.
Green, Philip, eſq.
Grant, Peter, eſq. Paymaſter, 55th Reg.

Hort, Sir John, Bart.
Hewitt, Major-general
Heriot, John, eſq.
Henchman, Thomas, eſq.
Harrington, Lt.-gen. the Earl of
Hulton, Lieut.-colonel
Heather, Mr.
Hope, the Hon. Col. John
Hughes, William Lewis, eſq.
Henderſon, Sir John, Bart.
Hammond, Colonel
Harpur, Sir Henry, Bart.
Horneck, Major-general
Harman, Samuel, eſq.
Hennery, James, eſq.

Haſtings, Major-general
Hill, Sir Geo. Fitzgerald, Bt.
Hope, Henry, eſq.
Harriſon, Edward, M. D.
Hawkins, John, eſq.
Hughs, Henry, eſq.
Heſeltine, Edward, eſq.
Hughes, Lt. Philip, Rl. Eng.
Hiſlop, Alexander, eſq.
Harcourt, Lt.-col. G. 12th Ft.
Hertford, the Marqueſs of
Hutchinſon, Major-general
Hardwicke, Francis, eſq.
Hughes, Capt. Charles, R. N.
Hall, Lieutenant colonel
Hookham, Mr. H.
Hartman, Iſaac, eſq.
Hehl, Mr. Simon
Hoare, Sir Richard, Bart.
Howard, Simeon, eſq.
Harriſon, Andrew, eſq.
Hovenden, Walter, eſq.
Harris, William, eſq.
Hurt, Charles, eſq.
Hobart, Lord
Herbert, Henry
Hall, Rev. W.
Hanman, Rev. Sir James, Bt.
Hermand, Lord
Hurſt, Mr. Thomas, 10 copies
Hatchard, Mr. four copies
Hookham, Mr. J. two copies
Hoare, Henry, eſq.
Heneage, George, eſq.
Hartſinck, Mr.
Herries, Farquhar, and Co. Meſſrs.
Harward, George, eſq.
Hole, Rev. H. A.
Halliday, Thomas, eſq.
Hume, James, eſq. for the Commiſ. of Cuſtoms.
Holt, Robert, eſq.
Hill, Mr. Waldron
Hippiſley, Sir John Cox, Bt.
Hornby, John, eſq.
Hooper, Thomas, eſq.
Hole, Lieut. H. Marines
Harriſon, Mr.
Huddeſſton, John, eſq.
Handen Nathaniel, eſq.
Hale, John, eſq.
Hindle, John Fowden, eſq.
Hinde, Rev. Mr.
Holmes, Peter, jun. eſq.
Hill, Rev. Mr.
Hume, Tho. M. B. T. C. D.
Hill, Dr. Edward
Hoare, Henry Merrik, eſq.
Henneker, Brigadier-general
Hoare, Henry Hugh, eſq.
Hanwell and Parker, Meſſrs. two copies
Houſtoun, Col. 58th Reg.
Hutchinſon, William, eſq.
Holmes, Mr. H.
Hallward, Thomas, eſq.
Hervey, Honourable General
Hibbert, George, eſq.
Hammerſleys and Co. Meſſrs.
Hurſt, Mr. John
Hodgetts, J. eſq.
Hardwicke, Earl of
Horrex, Mr. Edmund
Henderſon, Peter, eſq.
Hanſard, Mr. Luke, 2 copies
Herne, E. B. eſq.
Hill, Mr Peter,
Harford, R. S. eſq.
Herne, Rev. John Buckworth
Hughes, Major Royal Angl. Militia
Hodſon, John, eſq.
Humfrey, Rev. John
Hoare, Rev. Mr.
Harman, Jer. eſq. two copies
Holly, Mr. Thomas, 4 copies
Henckell, George, eſq.
Hamilton, Lord Archibald
Hay, Rev. Rich. John
Horn, Mr. William
Hailſtone, Rev. Profeſſor
Haliburton, David, Eſq.
Hudſon, R. eſq.
Hope, Lt.-col. John, 37th reg.
Hahn, Henry, eſq.
Harriſon, George, eſq.
Howie, Captain 79th Reg.
Harris, George, M. D.
Hyde, John, eſq.
Hatchett, Charles, eſq.
Hecker, John Henry, eſq.

Jackſon, Mr.
Inchiquin, Earl of
Jerſey, Counteſs of
Jackſon, F. J. eſq.
Jardine, Henry, eſq.
Innes, Rev. Mr.
Jackſon, Henry, eſq.
India, the Hon. the Board of Commiſ. for the Affairs of
Ireland, Rev. T. R.
Johnes, John, eſq.
Johnſon, Thomas, eſq.
Jerningham, Sir Wil. Bart.
Innes, Rev. G.
Innes, Mr.
Jenkins, Rev. R. J. R.
Irving, John, eſq.
Johnſon, George, eſq.
Johnſon, Robert, eſq.
Ingram, Francis, eſq.
Inglis, Major, 57th Regiment
Jones, Valentine, eſq.
Johnſon, Peter, eſq.
Jones, Captain, 1ſt Foot Gds.
Jefferſon, Rev. Joſeph
Ireland, His Majeſty's Poſtmaſter Gen. of
Irby, Hon. W. H.
Jameſon, Mr.
Jordan, Joſ. eſq.

Kenyon, Samuel, eſq.
Keighley, Mr.
Keane, Michael, eſq. 2 copies
Kite, Charles, eſq.
Knight, John, eſq.
Kennedy, Robert Hugh, eſq.
King's College, Cambridge
Keane, Major John
Keſteven, Thomas, eſq.
Keppel, Frederic, eſq.
Kerry, earl of
Kirkwall, Lord Viſcount
Kirby, Mr. Thomas
Kaye, Joſeph, eſq.
Knox, capt. 1ſt Guards.
Keyme, Wm. jun. four copies
Kloeſt, Baron Jacobi
Kerr, James, eſq.
Ker, Lady Eſſex
Kirkman, Captain Nathaniel
Keith, Vice-adm. Lord K. B.
Knight and Triphook, Meſſ. three copies
Kerr, Captain
Ker, Lady Eſſex
Kinleſide, Rev. William
Kynaſton, Roger eſq.
Kane, Mr.
Knowles, Joſeph, eſq.
Kavanagh, Thomas, eſq.
Kent, Sir Charles, Bart.

Lewis, Matthew, eſq.
Lefevre, Charles Shaw, eſq.
Lichigaray, Samuel, eſq.
Lifter, General
Loveden, E. L. eſq.
Lowry, Rev. J.
Lloyd, Gamaliel, eſq.
Lambert, Sir Henry, Bart.
Lavie, Capt. Thomas, R. N.
Leigh, R. H. eſq.
Leeds Library
Leſlie, Colonel
Lucas, Lady
Lumley, Hon. Lieut-col. W.
Lumley, Hon. Frederick
Luſhington, William, eſq.
Lewis, George, eſq.
Lloyd, Rev. J.
Law, James, eſq.
Lavington, Lord, K. B.
Lloyd, Mr. four copies.
Lake, Capt. R. N.
Laurie and Whittle, Meſſrs. two copies
Lee, Launcelot, eſq.

Laing, Mr.
Landaff, Earl of
Legh, George John, eſq.
Lee, Lieut-col. Sir. W. bart.
Lloyd, Mr. four copies
Lennon, W. C. eſq.
Lockhart, John Ingram, eſq.
Lewis, Major
Lloyd, Rev. J. R.
Latham, Capt. Marines
Leſsley, Andrew, eſq.
Longman and Rees, Meſſrs. twenty copies
Law, Mr. Charles, 4 copies
Laugharne, Capt. John, R. N.
Leman, Rev. Thomas
Littledale, Joſeph, eſq.
Lomax, Charles, eſq.
Lambert, Robert, eſq.
Lynch, Marcus, eſq.
Lauberdiere, Col. Comte de
Leinſter, his Grace the Duke of
Lovaine, Lord
Lepard, Mr. Benjamin
Loſh, James, eſq.
Lee, Thomas, eſq.
Laurence, Dr.
Liſmore, Lord
Leckie, Gould, eſq.
Lambert, Charles, eſq.
Library Society, Worceſter
Lind, F. eſq.
Lake, Sir James, Bart.
Lawley, Dowager Lady
Lees, William, eſq.
Lownds, W. eſq.
Long, Edward, eſq.
Lutwidge, Charles, eſq.
Lanman, Peter, jun. eſq.
Leigh, Rev. William

Manners, General
Montgomery, Major
Michel, C. W. eſq.
Maitland, Hon. General
Maitland, Hon. Col. 12th Ft.
Maitland, Liet.-Col. Frederic
Maitland, Col. 1ſt Ft. Guards
Macpherſon, James, eſq.
Minto, Lord
Mulgrave, Lord
Morrit, J. B. S. eſq.
Marſhall, Robert, eſq.
M'Carthy, Captain C.
Murray, Lieut.-Col. Peter
Millington, Langford, eſq.
Mundy, Edward Miller, eſq.
Murray, Pat. of Simprim, eſq.
Marlborough, His Grace the Duke of
M'Millan, Mr.
Marſden, Alexander, eſq.
Morres, Right Hon. Lodge
Morgan, John, eſq.
Mackintoſh, James, eſq.
Michel, Lieutenant-colonel
Moſs, Rev. Dr.
May, John, eſq.
Moubray, George, eſq.
Mordaunt, General
More, Robert, eſq.
Michell, Lieut.-Colonel G.
Malcolm, Colonel
Meux, Richard, eſq.
Mill, David, eſq.
Manners and Miller, Meſſrs. twelve copies.
Maitland, John, eſq.
Metz, Henry, eſq.
Munro, Capt. George
Minier, William, eſq.
Myers, Major-general
Maxwell, Mr.
Miller, Mr. W. four copies
Morris, L.-col. Coldſt. Gds.
Middleton, Lord
Mulcaſter, Mr James
Mackelcan, Lieut.-col. Royal Engineers.
Maſſey, General
Meggy and Chalk, Meſſrs.
Michell, Charles, eſq.
Martin, Thomas, eſq.
Marſh, Lieutenant-general
Maxwell, William, eſq.
M'Call, Samuel, eſq.
Macmahon, Capt. 53d Reg.
Moira, Lieut-gen. the Earl of
Minoch, Mr. Juſtinian
Mackenzie, Lieut.-col. Muir
Matthews, Joſeph, eſq.
Mitford, Sir John
Matchias, George, eſq.
Maſſenden, Daniel, eſq.
Merry, William, eſq.
Marſhall, Ralph, eſq.
Monzell, W. T. eſq.
Moſs, Robert, eſq.
Maude, Mr. W. M.
Montolieu, Lewis, eſq.
M'Crea, Capt. Invalids
Munchauſen, Mr. de
Murray and Highley, Meſſrs. ſix copies
Middleton, J. C. eſq.
Muſgrave, General
M'Mahon, Mr. John
Mee, Joſeph, eſq.
Moore, Rev. John
Maddiſon, John eſq.
Meath, Earl of
Moore, Frank, eſq.
Moore, G. P. eſq.
M'Kinnon, Lieut.-col. Coldſt. Guards
Montgomery, Rev. John
Moore, John, eſq.
Murphy, Robert, eſq.
Magens, M. D. eſq.
Moriſon, Thomas, eſq.
Manners, Miſs
M'Leod Donald, eſq.
Mackenzie, Vice-admiral

Naſſau, Frederic, eſq.
Newbery, Francis, eſq.
Northumberland, General His Grace the Duke of, K. G.
Narbonne, His Grace, the Archbiſhop of
Newport, Sir John, Bart.
Nicholls, Nathaniel, eſq.
Navy, Hon. Commiſſioners of
Nugent, Major-general
Nihell, Dr.
Nagle, Edward J. eſq.
Napier, Lt.-col. the Hon. G.
North, Fountain, eſq.
Nepean, Evan, eſq.
Nicholas, Major
Newton, Samuel, eſq.

Ordnance, Board of, in Ireland
Oliver, Robert, eſq.
Oſborne, John, eſq.
O'Bryen, Captain, R. N.
O'Bryen, Edward, eſq.
Ogle, Lieut.-colonel
Orkney, Counteſs of
Oliver, Richard, eſq.
Oſwald, George, eſq.
Oſborne, Thomas, eſq.
Ogle, Edward, eſq.
Oglander, William, eſq.
O'Byrne, Lt. M. 65th Reg.
Oliver, Peter, eſq.
O'Reilley, Sir Hugh, Bart.
O'Hara, General
O'Gorman, Major

Peel, Robert, eſq.
Palk, Sir Lawrence, Bart.
Parker, George, eſq.
Pringle, Colonel
Portland, His Grace the D. of
Phipps, Hon. Col. 2 copies
Phipps, Hon. Auguſtus
Peachey, Hon. John
Parker, Admiral Sir Hyde
Portland's, Duke of, Office
Pococke, Sir Iſaac, Bart.
Power, Richard, eſq.
Powell, Tho. Harcourt, eſq.
Perkins, Major-general J. F.
Portal, Harry, eſq.
Phipps, Lieut.-col. Iſaac
Perkins, Harry, eſq.
Poole, Thomas, eſq.
Phœnix Fire Com. Directs. of
Powell, John Harcourt, eſq.

Powell, Maj. T. 14th Reg. F.
Pleſton, Robert, eſq.
Philips, Charles, eſq.
Powell, Col. John Kynaſton
Peacock, Maj. 48th Reg.
Pickſtone, Joſeph, eſq.
Perry, James, eſq.
Peyton, Capt. John, R. N.
Powlett, Powlett, eſq.,
Peterſham, Lord Viſcount
Panting, Rev. Laurence
Powney, George, eſq.
Peacocke, Lt.-col. Cit. Gds.
Pattiſon, James, eſq.
Parry, James, eſq.
Parſons, Mr. John
Pim, John, eſq.
Porter, Lt. Wm. 76th Reg.
Porklington, Major
Penn, John, eſq.
Phillips, John, eſq.
Preſcott, Sir George, Bart.
Pagan, William, eſq.
Pulteney, Lt.-gen. Sir James Bart.
Parſlee, Mr. Thomas
Parſlee, Mr. John
Price, J. eſq.
Penſon, Henry
Power, S. eſq.
Power, Capt. 55th Regiment
Pearce, Capt. Tho. Marines
Pinckney, William, eſq.
Ponſonby, Maj. 5th Dr. Gds.
Penn, John, eſq.
Potter, Thomas, eſq.
Preſton, Rev. George
Penn, William, eſq.
Pollock, W. eſq.
Parry, Edward, eſq.
Pownall, P. eſq.
Page, Thomas, eſq.
Paterſon, Capt. 3d Guards
Price, William, eſq.
Parr, Dr.
Pringle, Joſeph, eſq.
Pellew, Sir Edward
Parker, Samuel, eſq.
Pickering, R. eſq.
Phillips, Capt. 44th Reg.
Preſcott, Rev. E.
Parker, Robert, eſq.

Robinſon, Thomas, eſq.
Robinſons, Meſſ. G.G. and J.
Richmond, Field Marſhal, His Grace the Duke of, K. G.
Romney, Lord
Roſe, George, eſq.
Ryder, Hon. R.
Roberts, J. W. eſq.
Ricketts, W. H. eſq. R. N.
Rolle, Lord

Ridout, Mr. J. G.
Rigby, William, eſq.
Roope, Lt. Cam. Grenadiers.
Revenue, Commiſſrs. of His Majeſty's, in Ireland.
Reynolds, Lieut.-colonel
Ryan, Major
Reed, Colonel 1ſt Northumb. Reg. Mil.
Ruſe, Joſeph, eſq.
Ridge, Thomas, eſq.
Ricardo, David, eſq.
Roſs, Maj.-gen. Sir Cha. bart. two copies.
Roſs, Lady Mary
Roſs, George, eſq.
Roſs, Capt. Coldſt. Guards
Roſs, Capt. R. N.
Roſs, Robert, eſq.
Richardſon, Capt. Sir G. Bart.
Robinſon, James, eſq.
Revely, Hugh, eſq.
Ravenſcroft, Lieut.-col. John
Ribbleſdale, Lord
Reynolds, Lieut.-colonel
Robinſon, Cpt. W. 24th Reg.
Roche, Edward, eſq.
Rideout, Rev. R.
Read, Major-general
Ryan, Mr. two copies
Robertſon, Major-general
Robe, Capt. Royal Artillery
Rae, John, eſq.
Raine, Rev. Dr.
Roberts, Mr. two copies
Ruſſel, George, eſq.
Robertſon, Dr. William
Ruſſel, John Banger, eſq.
Rivers, Lord
Radnor, the Earl of
Ranking, George, eſq.
Richards, Rev. Dr.
Rowley, Hon. C.
Roſe, Hugh, eſq.
Rudſtone, Rev. Mr.
Robinſon, William, eſq.
Rowley, William, eſq.
Ravenſcroft, Edward, eſq.
Roxby, Henry, eſq.
Rutherford, Captain John
Roberts, Rev. Dr.
Roſe, George Henry, eſq.
Robinſon, Mr. John
Ryan, J. B. eſq.
Richardſon, Major-gen. Wil.
Madox
Rance, J. P. eſq.
Ring, Thomas, eſq.

Strutt, Major-general
Sullivan, John, eſq.
Steuart, Gen. Sir James, bart.

Stamford, Earl of
Simpſon, Henry, eſq.
Searle's Coffee-houſe
Shafteſbury, Earl of
Sunderlin, Lord
Stanley, John Thomas, eſq.
Spencer, Colonel
Shirreff, Lieutenant-general
Sturgeon, Thomas Wil. eſq.
Spencer, Earl, K. G.
Saliſbury, Marquiſs of, K. G.
Sturges, William, eſq.
Shephard, Charles, eſq.
Spens, Walter, eſq.
Small, Joſeph Atwell, D. D.
Simcoe, Major-general
Sheldon, William, eſq.
Smith, Capt. William, R. N.
Shawe, William, eſq.
Sigy, Marquis de
Span, Samuel, eſq.
Stiller, P. eſq.
Simpſon, John Hopley, eſq.
Sewell, Robert, eſq.
Scott, Claude, eſq.
Sumner, George Holme, eſq.
Shard, William, eſq.
Southwell, Lord Viſcount
Smith, Theophilus, eſq.
Smith, James, eſq.
Simms, William, eſq.
Symmons, John, eſq.
Smith, Culling, jun. eſq.
Sparrow, Robert, eſq.
Smith, J. Allen, eſq.
Stuart, Lieutenant-colonel
Sheldon, William, eſq. Gray's Inn
Simpſon, Mr. Thomas
Symonds, Mr. two copies
Shearſon, John, eſq.
Scott, Samuel, eſq.
St. John, Major-general
Sermon, Thomas, eſq.
Sheppard, Mr. John
Steuart, Lieut.-colonel
Soilleux, John, eſq.
Silk, Mr. Thomas Johnſtone
Serres, J. H. G. eſq.
Swaffield, John, eſq.
Swale, John, eſq.
Sewell, Mr. John, three copies
Stanley, Colonel
Sykes, Mr. William
Sibthorp, Colonel
Stoddart, Rev. C.
Sherwill, M. E. eſq.
Smithſon, William, eſq.
Stourbridge Library
Stopford, Lord Viſcount
Serjeantſon, W. R. L. eſq.
Saunders, Maj. Rbt. Dundas
Shepherd, Tuffin, eſq.
Steele, Right Hon. Thomas

Savory, Coulſon, eſq.
Shaw, Bernard, eſq.
Sandys, Brigadier-major
Stainforth, George, eſq.
Sneyd, Nathaniel, eſq.
Scriven, John Barclay, eſq.
St. Quintin, William, eſq.
Sinclair, James, eſq.
Siſſmore, Rev. Henry
Sotheby, William, eſq.
Stewart, Robert, eſq.
Stockdale, Mr. Jeremiah
Sondes, Lord
St. John, St. Andrew, eſq.
Stawell, Sampſon, eſq.
Stamford, Miſs
Saliſbury, Capt. 1ſt Guards
Sleman, Rev. Peter
Smith, Captain William
Smith, Captain Charles
St. Clair, Major
Salmon, W. W. eſq.
Spencer, Lt.-col. 23d Light Drag.
Sturt, Charles, eſq.
Silk, Mr.
Stewart, the Hon. and Rev. Charles
Sinclair, Sir John, Bart.
Shadwell, Lancelot, eſq.
Sherlock, Lt.-col. 5th Drag. Guards
Stuart, Col. John, Minorca Reg.
Scott, Joſeph, eſq.
Simmons & Kirkby's Library
Sinclair, James, eſq.
Staveley, Major-general
Sommers, Lady
Sockett, H. eſq.
Swayne, Captain
Smith, Mr. Chas. two copies
St. John's College, Cambridge
Swinburne, Captain

Tennant, William, eſq.
Thomaſon, Mr.
Taylor, Captain
Tranſport Office
Trade and Foreign Plantations the Lords Committee for
Tripp, H. eſq.
Talbot, Sir Charles, Bart.
Twiſs, Lt.-col. Royal Engineers
Taylor, Mr.
Townſhend, Field Marſhal Marquis
Trotter, John, eſq. two copies
Trotter, Alexander, eſq.
Trotter, Coutts, eſq.
Treppas, Mr. Wil. two copies
Todd, Mr. John, three copies
Tyndall, Thomas, eſq.
Thompſon, Rev. Joſiah
Turner, Mr.
Thornton, Samuel, eſq. Bank of England, two copies.
Taylor, John, eſq.
Teſſeyman, Mr.
Tarret, H. N. eſq.
Townſhend, Hon. John Tho.
Torphichen, Lord
Trumbull, John, eſq.
Taylor, William, eſq.
Trevelyan, John, eſq.
Thompſon, Richard, eſq.
Thoroton, Thomas, eſq.
Tullock, John, eſq.
Thwaites. J. W. G. eſq.
Thomſon, Maj. Royal Artil.
Thomſon, Mr.
Tempeſt, Sir H. Bart.
Twentyman, Colonel
Taylor, Hon. and Rev. Edw.
Tyrone, Lord
Trench, Hon. Richard
Trebeck, James, eſq.
Tweedie, Chas. jun. eſq.
Thompſon, Geo. Neſbitt, eſq.
Tate, Mr. John, eſq.
Tynte, Colonel J. K.
Trevor, Right Hon. John
Talbot, Hon. John Chetwynd
Travis, Mr. William
Thewles, Lt.-col. 4th Drag. Guards
Taylor, Hon. Colonel
Taylor, Thomas, eſq.
Trevenen, Rev. T.
Thornton, Robert, eſq.
Trotter, Captain
Trower, James, eſq.
Trigge, General, Commander in chief at Martinique.
Tennant, W. eſq.
Trevenin, Mr. Durig de
Tregoning, Mr. Joſeph
Townley, John, eſq.
Tomlinſon, Mr.
Temple, Earl, two copies
Templetown, Lord
Trevelyan, Sir J. Bart.
Tyrwhitt, Tho. Drake, eſq.

Uxbridge, Earl of, two copies
Unwin, J. W. eſq.
Udney, Robert, eſq.
Urquhart, Major-general

Vanſittart, Nicholas, eſq. three copies
Vaughan, Mrs.
Victualling Board, Commiſ. of the
Vallé, Mr. A.
Vaughan, Major
Vere, Peter, eſq.
Voute, Robert, eſq.
Vandeleur, John Ormſby, eſq.
Villetes, J. F. eſq.
Vachell, Captain

War Office
Wilkins, Charles, eſq.
Winchilſea, Earl of, 2 copies
Wentworth, Lord Viſcount
Weir, John, eſq.
White, General
Wray, Sir Cecil, Bart.
Wolferſtars, Sam. Pope, eſq.
Wheately, Lt.-col. 1ſt Gds.
Wray, Sir Bourchier, Bart.
Wickham, Mr.
Whyte, Captain
Wynn, Henry Watkin Williams, eſq.
Williams, Thomas, eſq.
White, W. H. eſq.
Wood, William, eſq.
Wortley, Colonel
Walpole, Lord
Wilbraham, Randle, eſq.
Whitelocke, Major-general
Wright, Mr. John
Walter, William, eſq.
Windham, Joſeph, eſq.
Wingfield, Major 40th Reg.
Wood, Lt.-col. 21ſt Lt. Dr.
Warwick, Earl of
Wayland, J. jun. eſq.
Wilſon, R. T. 15th Reg. K. L. D.
Wilbraham, Roger, eſq.
Warren, —— eſq.
Whitefoord, John R. eſq.
Ward, John, eſq.
Wolfe, Lieut.-col. 70th Reg.
Whitelocke, Lieutenant-col.
Wall, William, eſq.
Wingfield, Hon. Capt. Coldſt. Guards
Winſtanley, Major
Warner, Joſeph, eſq.
Wilſon, Major George
Wilſon, John, eſq.
Wildey, Capt. John
Wilſon, Capt. Richard
Wheeler, Trevor, eſq.
Wilberforce, William, eſq.
Willis, Capt. Richard, R. N.
Wallis, Mr. John, 20 copies
Wallis, Mr. James, 12 copies
Watts, William, eſq.
Wilſon, Giffin, eſq.
Wroughton, Major George
Weſton, Webb, eſq.
Wylde, Rev. Mr.

Wood, Mr.
Warre, James, esq.
Wynn, Sir Watkin Williams, Bart.
Wynn, Chas. Williams, esq.
Weston, Stephen, B. D.
Willington, Lt.-col. Royal Artillery
Watson, George, esq.
Wilson, Lieutenant-colonel
Weatherby, Edward, esq.
Wilson, Richard, esq.
Wilson, G. esq.
Willoughby, Hon. Mr.
Wynter, Rev. Robert
Wodehouse, Lord, two copies
Whitworth, his Excellency Sir Charles, K. B. two copies
Wilford, Major-general
Wilson, Leftoch, esq.
Wavell, William, M. D.
Wylde, G. esq.
Wreight, Henry, esq.
Whitbread, Samuel, esq.
Warren, Sir George, K. B.
White, Lieut.-col. 1ft Gds.
Worth, Carter, and Worth, Messrs.
Willis, Dr. Francis
Wright, Mr. William
Wright, Charles, esq.
Walker, Captain 3d Guards
Wilkinson, esq.
Whitmore, Rev. George
Wall, Lt.-col. South Gloster Militia
Wolfeley, Sir William, Bart.
Watson, John, esq.
Wickham, William, esq.
Warde, St. Andrew, esq.
Wilkinson, J. L. esq.
Wemyss, Major-general
Watson, William, esq.
Waring, John Scott, esq.
White, Mr. John, two copies
Young, William, esq.
York's, His Royal Highness the Duke of, Office, 2 copies
Yorke, Hon. Lieut.-colonel
Yerbury, John, esq.
Yonge, Capt. 18th Lt. Drag.
Young and Imray, Messrs.
Yeldham, John, esq.
York, His Grace the abp. of

The following Works are, or will speedily be published by JOHN STOCKDALE, *Piccadilly.*

I.—HISTORY of the HELVETIC CONFEDERACY, from its Origin to its late Dissolution. By JOSEPH PLANTA, Sec. R. S. and principal Librarian at the British Museum. Dedicated, by permission, to His MAJESTY.
Elegantly printed on superfine wove Paper, and hot-pressed. In 2 vols 4to. illustrated with a Map of Switzerland, &c. Price 2*l.* 2*s.*

II.—A Third Volume of the HISTORY, CIVIL and COMMERCIAL, of the BRITISH COLONIES in the WEST INDIES. By BRYAN EDWARDS, Esq. F. R. S. &c. 4to. illustrated with a Portrait of the Author, and other Plates.

III.—ODES of ANACREON. Translated into English Verse, with Notes. By THOMAS MOORE, Esq. of the Middle Temple. Elegantly printed on fine Wove Paper, and hot-pressed. In 1 vol. 4to. illustrated with Plates. Price 1*l.* 1*s.*

IV.—JOURNAL of a ROUTE to NAGPORE, by the Way of Cuttae, Burrosumber, Dongur Ghur, and the Southern Bungare Ghaut, in the Year 1790; with an Account of Nagpore, and a Journal from that place to Benares, by the Soohagee Pass. By DANIEL ROBINSON LECKIE, Esq. In 4to. illustrated with a Map. Price 7*s.*

V.—HISTORY, CIVIL and COMMERCIAL, of the BRITISH COLONIES in the WEST INDIES. By BRYAN EDWARDS, Esq.—Dedicated, by Permission, to His MAJESTY. In 3 large Volumes, 8vo. illustrated with Plates.

VI.—TRAVELS through the STATES of NORTH AMERICA and PROVINCES of UPPER and LOWER CANADA, in the Years 1795, 6, and 7. By ISAAC WELD, jun. Esq. Third Edition, in 2 large Volumes, 8vo. illustrated with 16 highly-finished Plates, neatly printed on superfine wove Paper. Price 1*l.* 1*s.*

VII.—LIFE of CATHARINE II. EMPRESS of RUSSIA. By J. CASTERA. Translated from the last French Edition by HENRY HUNTER, D. D. In 1 large Volume 8vo. illustrated with 14 Plates. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* or, on fine Paper, with Proof Plates, 13*s.* 6*d.*

VIII.—SCHOOL for CHILDREN, Translated from the French, and interspersed with poetical Pieces. By Miss STOCKDALE. In one vol. 12mo. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

IX.—STATISTICAL TABLES, exhibiting a View of all the States of Europe, with their Coins, Weights, and Measures. Translated from the German of J. G. BOETTICHER, of Koenigsberg. In 4to. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

X.—A GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, and POLITICAL ACCOUNT of GERMANY, HOLLAND, the NETHERLANDS, SWISSERLAND, the GRISONS, and ITALY. With a Gazetteer of the principal Places therein. In 1 large vol. royal 4to. handsomely printed on superfine wove Paper, illustrated with Twenty-four Plans of fortified Cities, and a large three-sheet Map of the Countries described—4 Feet 6 Inches by 2 Feet 9 Inches. Price 2*l.* 2*s.*

XI.—HISTORY of LIVERPOOL, with an ACCOUNT of the RIVER MERSEY, &c. Dedicated, by Permission, to the Earl of LIVERPOOL. In 1 vol. royal 4to. on fine wove Paper, embellished and illustrated with numerous Maps, Plans, and Views. Price to Subscribers 2*l.* 2*s.*

BOOKS PUBLISHED BY J. STOCKDALE.

XII.—A NEW and ELEGANT TRANSLATION of the ARABIAN NIGHTS' ENTERTAINMENTS.

XIII.—JOURNAL of a VOYAGE, performed in the Lion extra Indiaman, from Madras to Columbo, Da Lagoa Bay, on the eaſtern Coaſt of Africa, Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, and England, in the Years 1798 and 1799. With ſome Account of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants of Da Lagoa Bay, and a Vocabulary of their Language. By WILLIAM WHITE, Eſq. Captain of the 73d Highland Regiment of Foot. Neatly printed in 4to. with two highly-finiſhed Plates, from Drawings taken on the Spot. Price 7s. in boards.

XIV.—HISTORY of the LIFE and SKETCH of the CAMPAIGNS of General NEAPOLINE BONAPARTE. Tranſlated from the French. Together with a large Map of Germany and Italy, ſhowing the Routes of the Armies, Encampments, and Fields of Battle, &c. accurately delineated by BACLER DALBE, Captain of Canoniers, attached to the Army of Bonaparte during the War, in the Capacity of Chief of his Topographical Office. And further illuſtrated with Maps of Egypt and Syria.—In 4to. Price 1l. 1s.

XV.—A NEW HISTORY of RUSSIA. Tranſlated from the French, with ſeveral Plates, and a large Map of Ruſſia.

XVI.—LIVES of the BRITISH POETS, in one large Volume, 8vo. with Plates. Price 10s. 6d. in boards, or on fine Paper with Proof impreſſions of the Plates, 13s. 6d.

XVII.—VOYAGE to the EAST-INDIES and CHINA, made, by Order of the KING, from 1774 to 1781. In which are deſcribed the Manners, Religions, Arts and Sciences of the Indians, Chineſe, Pegouins, and Natives of Madagaſcar: With Obſervations on the Cape of Good Hope, Iſles of France and Bourbon, the Maldives, Ceylon, Malacca, the Philippines, and Moluccas; with Reſearches on the Natural Hiſtory of thoſe Countries. Tranſlated from the French of M. SONNERAT. In 2 volumes, 4to. illuſtrated and embelliſhed with One Hundred and Forty Plates of Views, Natural Hiſtory, Mythology, &c.

*** Gentlemen deſirous of the above valuable Work, are requeſted to favour Mr. Stockdale with early Orders.

BOOKS *printed for* JOHN STOCKDALE.

This Day are publiſhed, in 3 vols. 8vo. illuſtrated with Forty diſtinct highly-finiſhed Portraits, Views, Plans, Antiquities, Animals, Plants, and a large Map of Egypt, 2 Feet 4 by 1 Foot 5, Price only 1l. 7s. in boards, with Silver Paper betwixt each Plate, dedicated to the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT,

TRAVELS IN UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT,

(Undertaken by Order of the late King of France,)

BY C. S. SONNINI.

Engineer in the French Navy, and Member of ſeveral ſcientific and literary Societies.

Tranſlated from the French, with Notes, and an Introduction,

BY HENRY HUNTER, D. D.

The above Work is allowed to be one of the moſt intereſting that has yet appeared relating to Egypt.—As it is probable that other Tranſlations may be publiſhed, Gentlemen wiſhing to be of poſſeſſed of this, with early impreſſions of the Plates, are requeſted to give their orders accordingly.

N. B. This is the only Tranſlation which compriſes the whole of the Forty ſeparate Plates and Letter-preſs as in the original. In that publiſhed by John De Brett, the Plates are reduced in ſize and number to twenty-ſeven, the Map of Egypt conſiderably diminiſhed, and the price modeſtly charged 2l. 12s. 6d. nearly double that of Dr. Hunter's edition.

Notwithſtanding Mr. De Brett, of Piccadilly, has been ſo imprudent as to ſolicit, by printed and manuſcript Letters, and perſonal application, the Bookſellers, &c. of London and Weſtminſter, to enter into a combination againſt the ſale of the above book, Mr. Stockdale has the pleaſure to inform the Public that he has ſold nearly the whole edition.—For the high character of this Work ſee the Monthly Review for the three laſt months.

This day are publiſhed, illuſtrated with 699 Views, Plans, Maps, &c. in 8 vols. Imperial 8vo.

Price 13l. 10s. or in medium 4to. 17l. 10s. in boards,

The Antiquities of England and Wales.

BY FRANCIS GROSE, F. A. S.

As there are but few copies remaining of the above Work, Gentlemen deſirous of fine Impreſſions are requeſted to give early orders.—A conſiderable deduction to Merchants, Traders, &c. for ready money.

Printed by T. Gillet, Salisbury Square.

BOOKS Printed for JOHN STOCKDALE, Piccadilly.

Each Article is priced as in Boards, unleſs otherwiſe expreſſed.

QUARTOS.

THE Hiſtory, Civil and Commercial, of the Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies; containing a political and topographical Survey of the ſeveral Engliſh Sugar Iſlands; a comprehenſive Account of their ancient and preſent Inhabitants, Agriculture, and Productions, Laws, Government, Conſtitutions, and Commerce; an Hiſtorical Review of the Slave Trade; including ſome Obſervations on the Character, Genius, Diſpoſitions, and Situation of the enſlaved Africans. Together with ſeveral Incidental Diſquiſitions, illuſtrative of the Value and Importance of theſe Colonies, and their Relation towards the ſeveral great Intereſts, the Manufactures, Navigation, Revenues, and Lands of Great Britain; by BRYAN EDWARDS, Eſq. M. P. F. R. S. &c. Dedicated by permiſſion to His Majeſty. In 2 vols. with 16 maps and plates, 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; or on fine paper, with proof impreſſions of the plates, 3*l.* 3*s.*

An Hiſtorical Survey of the French Colony in the Iſland of St. Domingo, comprending a ſhort account of its ancient government, political ſtate, population, productions, and exports, a narrative of the calamities which have deſolated that country ever ſince the year 1789, with ſome reflections on the cauſes and probable conſequences, and a detail of the military tranſactions of the Britiſh army in that Iſland to the end of the year 1794, by BRYAN EDWARDS, Eſq. In one volume 13*s.*; or on fine paper, 15*s.*

The Hiſtory of America, or the Geography of the United States, &c. by JEDIDIAH MORSE, D. D. In one volume, with 25 maps, 1*l.* 6*s.*

An Hiſtorical Journal of the Tranſactions at Port Jackſon and Norfolk Iſland, with the diſcoveries which have been made in New South Wales and the Southern Ocean, ſince the publication of Phillip's Voyage; compiled from the official papers, including the Journals of governors Phillip and King, and lieutenant Ball, and the Voyages from the firſt ſailing of the Sirius in 1787 to the return of that ſhip's company to England in 1792; by JOHN HUNTER, Eſq. Poſt Captain in the Royal Navy, and Governor of His Majeſty's Territories in New South Wales. In one volume, royal, with 17 maps, charts, and views, 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*; or on fine paper, with proof plates, 2*l.* 2*s.*

A Deſcription of the Country from thirty to forty miles round Mancheſter; containing its Geography, natural and civil; principal Productions; river and canal Navigations; a particular account of its Towns and chief Villages; their Hiſtory, Population, Commerce, and Manufactures; Buildings, Government, &c. The materials arranged, and the work compoſed, by J. AIKIN, M. D. In one large volume, royal, with 73 maps, plans, and views, 3*l.* 3*s.*

The Hiſtory of the Union between England and Scotland, with a collection of original papers relating thereto, by Daniel de Foe; and an introduction, in which the conſequences and probability of a like Union between Great Britain and Ireland are conſidered, by John Lewis De Lolme; to which is prefixed a life of De Foe; by GEORGE CHALMERS, F. R. S. S. A. In one large volume, with a portrait, 1*l.* 10*s.*; or on royal paper, 1*l.* 15*s.*

Feriſhta's Hiſtory of Dekkan from the firſt Mahummedan conqueſts; a continuation from other native writers of the events in that part of India, to the reduction of its laſt monarchs by the Emperor Aulumgeer Aurungzebe; alſo the reigns of his ſucceſſors in the empire of Hindoſtan to the preſent day; and the hiſtory of Bengal, from the acceſſion of Aliverdee Khan to the year 1780; dedicated by permiſſion to the chairman and directors of the honourable Eaſt India company; by JONATHAN SCOTT, Captain in the Eaſt India company's ſervice, Perſian ſecretary to the late governor general, Warren Haſtings, Eſq. &c. In 2 vols. 2*l.* 2*s.*

A Commentary illuſtrating the Poetic of Ariſtotle, by examples taken chiefly from the modern poets; to which is prefixed a new and corrected edition of the tranſlation of the Poetic; by HENRY JAMES PYE, Eſq. Poet Laureat. In one volume, royal, 1*l.* 6*s.*

This Vales of Wever, a loco-deſcriptive Poem; by JOHN GISBORNE, Eſq. Inſcribed to the Rev. John Granville, of Calwich, Staffordſhire. One volume, 5*s.*

The Britiſh Empire in Europe, part the firſt; by JOHN LEWIS DE LOLME, ADV. LL. D. One volume, ſewed, 5*s.*

Diſcoveries of the French in 1768 and 1769, to the ſouth-eaſt of New Guinea, with the ſubſequent viſits to the ſame lands by Engliſh navigators, who gave them new names; to which is prefixed an hiſtorical abridgment of the Voyages and Diſcoveries of the Spaniards in the ſame ſeas; by M. FLEURIEU, formerly a Captain in the French Navy. One volume, royal, with 12 plates, 1*l.* 1*s.*

The Hiſtory of London and its Environs; by Dr. HUNTER, &c. In Nine parts, royal, of which Six are publiſhed, with 33 maps, plans, and views; price to ſubſcribers, per part, 10*s.* 6*d.*; or on large elephant paper, with proof plates, and coloured maps, one guinea. A liſt of the Subſcribers will be printed.

The Voyage of Governor PHILLIP to Botany Bay, with an account of the eſtabliſhment of the Colonies of Port Jackſon and Norfolk Iſland; to which are added the Journals of Lieutenants Shortland, Watts, Ball, and Captain Marſhall, with their New Diſcoveries; dedicated by permiſſion to the Marquis of Saliſbury. In one volume, royal, embelliſhed with 55 plates, 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*; or with the natural hiſtory coloured, 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

The Pſalms of David, for the uſe of pariſh churches; the Words ſelected by the Rev. Sir ADAM GORDON, Bart. M. A. Prebendary of Briſtol; the Muſic ſelected, adapted, and compoſed by Dr. ARNOLD,

Luke Hanſard, Printer;
Great Turnſtile, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

ARNOLD, organiſt and compoſer to his Majeſty, aſſiſted by J. W. CALCOTT, M. B. organiſt of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. In one volume, folio, with a frontiſpiece and vignette, half bound, 1 *l.* 6 *s.*

The Commercial and Political Atlas, which repreſents at a ſingle view, by means of copper plate charts, the moſt important public accounts, revenues, expenditures, debts, and commerce of England and Ireland; by WILLIAM PLAYFAIR and JAMES CORRY, Eſqs. In one volume, with forty plates, 1 *l.* 1 *s.*

A Collection of Plans of the capital Cities in Europe, and ſome remarkable Cities in Aſia, Africa, and America; with a Deſcription of their moſt remarkable Buildings, Trade, Situation, Extent, &c. &c. ſelected from the beſt authorities; by JOHN ANDREWS. In one volume, illuſtrated with 42 copper-plates, price 1 *l.* 1 *s.* half-bound; or coloured 2 *l.* 2 *s.*

A Voyage round the World, but more particularly to the North-weſt Coaſt of America, performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, in the King George and Queen Charlotte; by Captain NATHANIEL PORTLOCK, and Captain GEORGE DIXON. Dedicated by permiſſion to His Majeſty. In two volumes, embelliſhed with 42 charts, views, &c. price 2 *l.* 6 *s.*; or on royal paper, with coloured plates, 3 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

Travels through the States of North America, and Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, in 1795, 1796, and 1797; by ISAAC WELD, Eſq. Junior. In one volume, with 16 highly finiſhed plates, 1 *l.* 10 *s.*

OCTAVOS.

The Hiſtory of the principal Republics in the World; by JOHN ADAMS, LL. D. Preſident of the United States of America. In 3 vols. with a portrait, 1 *l.* 1 *s.*; or on fine paper, 1 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

Fables of ÆSOP, with a life of the author. In 2 vols. elephant, with 112 plates, from Barlow's deſigns, 2 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.*

Fables by JOHN GAY, with a life of the Author. In 2 vols. elephant, with 70 plates, 1 *l.* 11 *s.* 6 *d.*

Univerſal Hiſtory, Ancient and Modern. In 60 vols. with plates, 15 *l.*

Anecdotes, Ancient and Modern; by JAMES PETIT ANDREWS, Eſq. In one volume, with a frontiſpiece, 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

The Dramatic Works of William Shakeſpeare, with his life and will; and a preface by Dr. KIPPIS. In one volume, royal, 1 *l.* 1 *s.*

An Index to the Dramatic Works of Shakeſpeare, which refers to the act, ſcene, page, column, and line; by the Rev. SAMUEL AYSCOUGH. In one volume, royal, 1 *l.* 1 *s.*

An Abridgement of the Law, by MATTHEW BACON; reviſed, corrected, and brought down to the preſent time; by HENRY GWILLIM, Eſq. In 7 vols. royal, calf, lettered, 5 *l.* 15 *s.* 6 *d.*

A Treatiſe on Leaſes and Terms for Years; by MATTHEW BACON. In one vol. royal, 9 *s.*

Biographical Sketches of 39 eminent Perſons, whoſe portraits form part of the Duke of Dorſet's collection at Knole, with a brief deſcription of the place; by HENRY NORTON WILLIS, Eſq. Dedicated to the Duke of Dorſet; neatly printed on fine wove paper. In one volume, with two plates, 6 *s.*

Philoſophical Enquiries concerning Chriſtianity; tranſlated from the French of M. BONNET, by JOHN LEWIS BOISSIER, Eſq. In one volume, with a portrait, 6 *s.*

The Odes, Epodes, Carmen Seculare, Satires, Epiſtles, and Art of Poetry, of HORACE, tranſlated into Engliſh verſe; by WILLIAM BOSCAWEN, Eſq. In two vols. on fine wove paper, 16 *s.*

Hiſtory of the Campaigns on the Continent in 1793, 1794, and 1795; by ROBERT BROWN, late Corporal in the Coldſtream Guards, now Serjeant in the Eaſt India Volunteers. Dedicated by permiſſion to General Lake. In one volume, with a map, ſewed, 5 *s.* 6 *d.*

A Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers; by GEORGE CHALMERS, F. R. S. S. A. In two vols. 15 *s.*; or on fine paper, 18 *s.*

An Eſtimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain during the preſent and four preceding Reigns; and of the loſſes of her Trade from every War ſince the Revolution, a new edition, corrected and improved, with a dedication to Dr. James Currie, the reputed author of Jaſper Wilſon's Letter; by GEORGE CHALMERS, Eſq. In one volume, 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

The Life of THOMAS RUDDIMAN, A. M. keeper for almoſt fifty years of the library belonging to the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh; with new Anecdotes of BUCHANAN: by GEORGE CHALMERS, Eſq. In one volume, with a portrait, 6 *s.*

Hiſtorical Tracts relating to Ireland, by Sir JOHN DAVIES, with his Life; by GEORGE CHALMERS, Eſq. In one volume, 5 *s.*

The Dying Negro, a poem; to which is prefixed a fragment of a Letter on the Slavery of the Negroes; by THOMAS DAY, Eſq. In one volume, with a frontiſpiece, 3 *s.*

The Conſtitution of England, or an Account of the Engliſh Government; in which it is compared both with the republican form of government, and the other monarchies in Europe; by J. L. DE LOLME, ADV. In one volume, 6 *s.* 6 *d.*

The Homilies of the Church of England modernized; by the Rev. Sir ADAM GORDON, Bart. Prebendary of Briſtol, and Rector of Weſt Tilbury. In two volumes, with a portrait, 7 *s.* This Work is recommended by the Biſhop of Lincoln, in his 'Elements of Theology,' as abſolutely neceſſary for the library of every clergyman.

A Collection of Sermons, principally on the Feſtivals and Faſts of the Church; by the Rev. Sir ADAM GORDON, Bart. In one vol. 8 *s.*

The Hiſtory of the Turkiſh or Ottoman Empire, from its foundation in 1300 to the Peace of Belgrade in 1740; to which is prefixed, an hiſtorical diſcourſe on Mahomet and his ſucceſſors; tranſlated from the French of Mignot; by A. Hawkins, Eſq. In 4 vols, 1 *l.* 6 *s.*

Travels through Sicily and Calabria in the year 1791; with a poſtcript, containing ſome account of the ceremonies of the laſt holy week at Rome, and of a ſhort excurſion to Tivoli; by the Rev. Brian Hill, A. M. In one volume, on fine wove royal, with a map, 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

Henry and Acaſto, a moral tale; by the Rev. Brian Hill. Dedicated by permiſſion to Lady Kenyon. In one volume, on fine crown, with three plates by Loutherbourg, 5 *s.*

The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL. D. In 15 vols. 8vo. calf, gilt, 5 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.*

Debates in Parliament during Sir Robert Walpole's Adminiſtration; by Samuel Johnson, LL. D.; with a Preface, by George Chalmers, Eſq. In 2 vols. 12 *s.*

Lives of the Poets; by Samuel Johnson, LL. D. in 4 vols. calf, lettered, 1 *l.* 4 *s.*

A Dictionary of the Engliſh Language; by Dr. Johnson. In one volume, bound, 8 *s.* 6 *d.*

The Hiſtory of the Moravian Miſſions among the Indians of North America, from 1734 to 1787; with the manners and cuſtoms of the different Indian nations; tranſlated from the German; by the Rev. C. J. La Trobe. In one large volume, with a map, 8 *s.* 6 *d.*

Edmund and Eleonora, or Memoirs of the Houſes of Summerfield and Gretton; a novel, founded on facts and living characters; by the late Rev. Edmund Marshall. In 2 vols. 10 *s.* 6 *d.*

The Geography of the United States of America; by Jedidiah Morse, D. D. In one volume, with two maps, 6 *s.* 6 *d.*; or on fine paper, with coloured maps, 8 *s.* 6 *d.*

The American Gazetteer; by Dr. Jedidiah Morse. In one volume, with 7 maps, 9 *s.*; or on fine paper, with coloured maps, 12 *s.* 6 *d.*

Lives of the Engliſh Regicides, and other Commiſſioners of the pretended High Court of Juſtice, appointed to ſit *in Judgment on their* Sovereign King Charles the Firſt; by the Rev. Mark Noble, F. A. S. In 2 vols. 12 *s.*

The Voyage of La Peroufe round the World, in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788; arranged by M. L. A. Milet Mureau; to which are annexed, Travels over the Continent with the Diſpatches of La Perouse in the Years 1787 and 1788, by M. De Lesseps: tranſlated from the French. In 2 large vols. with 51 fine plates, 1 *l.* 11 *s.* 6 *d.*

A New General Engliſh Pocket Dictionary; by William Perry. In one handſome volume, foolſcap, with a portrait, 3 *s.* 6 *d.*

Poems on various ſubjects; by Henry James Pye, Eſq. Poet Laureat. In two volumes, with 3 plates, 12 *s.*

The Adventures of Robinſon Cruſoe, who was caſt away, and lived twenty-eight years alone upon an Iſland; by Daniel De Foe: With a Life of the Author; by George Chalmers, Eſq. In 2 vols. with 17 fine plates, 18 *s.*; or on royal paper, with proof plates, 1 *l.* 11 *s.* 6 *d.* calf, gilt.

A Diſſertation on the Landed Property of Bengal; by Sir C. W. Rouse Boughton, Bart. M. P. In one volume, royal, 6 *s.*

A Treatiſe on Poverty, its Conſequences, and the Remedy; compriſing an Enquiry into the Nature of Crimes, and our Engliſh Puniſhments; by William Sabatier, Eſq. Dedicated to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas. In one volume, 5 *s.*

A Sketch of ſome late Arrangements, and a View of the riſing Reſources in Bengal; by Thomas Law, Eſq. In one volume, royal, 6 *s.*

An Hiſtorical Account of the Embaſſy to the Emperor of China, undertaken by order of the King of Great Britain; including the manners and cuſtoms of the Inhabitants; and preceded by an Account of the Cauſes of the Embaſſy and Voyage to China; abridged principally from the papers of Earl Macartney, as compiled By Sir George Staunton, Bart. Secretary of the Embaſſy to the Emperor of China, and Miniſter Plenipotentiary in the abſence of the Ambaſſador. In one large volume, on fine paper, with 25 plates, 10 *s.* 6 *d.*

Effuſions of the Heart, Poems; by Miſs Stockdale. Dedicated by permiſſion to Her Majeſty. In one volume, crown, with a frontiſpiece, 5 *s.*

The Seaſons; by James Thomson, with his Life and Notes. In one volume foolſcap, with 14 plates, 9 *s.*

The Iliad and Odyſſey of Homer; tranſlated by Alexander Pope, Eſq. with Notes, &c.; by Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. In 11 vols. with two plates, 3 *l.* 17 *s.*

The Courſe of Hannibal over the Alps aſcertained; by John Whitaker, B. D. In two vols. 12 *s.*

The Origin of Arianiſm diſcloſed; by John Whitaker, B. D. In one volume, royal, 10 *s.* 6 *d.*

The Works of Laurence Sterne, complete, with a Life of the Author written by himſelf. In ten vols. crown, with ten plates, bound, 2 *l.*

A Statement of the Public Accounts of Ireland; by the Right Hon. Sir Henry Cavendish, Bart. In one volume, 10 *s.* 6 *d.*

The Adventures of Numa Pompilius, Second King of Rome; tranſlated from the French of Florian. In two vols. crown, 6 *s.*

An Abridgement of Captain Hunter's Hiſtorical Journal of the Tranſactions at Port Jackſon and Norfolk Iſland, with the Diſcoveries which have been made in New South Wales, and in the Southern Ocean, ſince the publication of Phillip's Voyage. To which is prefixed a ſhort Account of the Author's Life. In one large volume, with maps and plates, 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; with an Account of the Eſtabliſhment of the Colonies at Port Jackſon and Norfolk Iſland: compiled from authentic Papers which have been received

ceived from the ſeveral Departments. To which are added the Journals of Lieutenant Shortland of the Alexander; Lieutenant Watts of the Penrhyn; Lieutenant Ball of the Supply; and Captain Marſhall of the Scarborough. With an Account of their new Diſcoveries; alſo an alphabetical Liſt of the Convicts ſent to Botany Bay. Inſcribed by permiſſion to the Marquis of Salisbury. One large volume, royal, with 20 maps, views, &c. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Hiſtory of Jacobiniſm, its Crimes, Cruelties, and Perfidies; compriſing an inquiry into the manner of diſſeminating, under the appearance of philoſophy and virtue, principles which are equally ſubverſive of order, virtue, religion, and happineſs; by WILLIAM PLAYFAIR. One large volume, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Survey of the Counties of Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, Derbyſhire, Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, and northern part of Staffordſhire, extracted from the Hiſtory of the Country round Manchester; by J. AIKIN, M. D. One volume, with a map. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Authentic Elucidation of the Hiſtory of Counts Struenſee and Brandt, and of the Revolution in Denmark in the year 1772; printed privately, but not publiſhed; by a Perſonage principally intereſted; tranſlated from the German, by B. H. LA TROBE. One vol. crown, 4*s.*

Cynegetica; or Eſſays on Sporting: conſiſting of Obſervations on Hare Hunting; containing an account of the hare hunting and courſing of the ancients, from Xenophon and Arrian:—A philoſophical inquiry into the nature and properties of the Scent:—Remarks on the different kinds of Hounds, with the manner of training them:—Directions for the choice of a Hunter:—The qualifications requiſite for a Huntſman:—And other general rules to be obſerved in every contingency incident to the Chace; by HENRY JAMES PYE, Eſq. Together with an Account of the Vizir's manner of Hunting in the Mogul Empire; by WILLIAM BLANE, Eſq. To which is added, The Chace: a poem; by WILLIAM SOMERVILLE, Eſq. *In one volume*, embelliſhed with a beautiful frontiſpiece and vignette, deſigned by Stothard, and engraved by Heath, 6*s.*

Stockdale's Parliamentary Guide, or Member's and Elector's complete Companion: ſhewing the Right of Election for the ſeveral Cities, Counties, and Boroughs, in Great Britain, and the Number of Voters at each place. One volume, 7*s.*

Petrarch's View of Human Life; by Mrs. DORSON. In one volume, 6*s.*

Obſervations on the Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs, and on Mr. Paine's Rights of Man; in two parts; by Sir BROOKE BOOTHBY, Bart. One volume, 5*s.*

A general View of the Variations which have been made in the Affairs of the Eaſt India Company, from the Concluſion of the War in India, in 1784, to the Commencement of the preſent Hoſtilities; by GEORGE ANDERSON, A. M. Accountant to the Right Hon. the Commiſſioners for the Affairs of India. One volume, royal, 6*s.*

A Short Review of the Britiſh Government in India, and of the State of the Country before the Company acquired the Grant of Dewanny. One volume, 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Letters of Simkin the Second, Poetic Recorder of all the Proceedings upon the Trial of Warren Haſtings, Eſq. in Weſtminſter Hall. *In one volume*, 7*s.*

A Collection of Original Royal Letters, written by King Charles the Firſt and Second, King James the Second, and the King and Queen of Bohemia; together with Original Letters written by Prince Rupert, Charles Louis Count Palatine, the Ducheſs of Hanover, and ſeveral other diſtinguiſhed Perſons, from the year 1619 to 1665; by Sir GEORGE BROMLEY, Bart. Illuſtrated with elegant engravings of the Queen of Bohemia, Prince Rupert, Emanuel Scrope Howe, and Ruperta, natural daughter of Prince Rupert, &c. engraved by Sherwin from the paintings of Cooper, Sir Peter Lely, and Honthorſt, and a plate of Autographs and Seals. In one volume, 10*s.* 6*d.*; or elegantly bound in Morocco, 16*s.*

Charges againſt Mr. Haſtings; by EDMUND BURKE, Eſq.—Anſwer to the above Charges; by WARREN HASTINGS, Eſq. One volume, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Articles againſt Mr. Haſtings, with Mr. Haſtings's Anſwer. One volume, 6*s.* 6*d.*

Minutes of the Evidence on the Charges againſt Mr. Haſtings. One volume, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Sir Elijah Impey's Defence before the Houſe of Commons. One volume, 5*s.*

A Collection of Tracts on Eaſt India Affairs; by Captain JOSEPH PRICE. Four volumes, bound, 1*l.* 8*s.*

A Collection of Tracts on the propoſed Regency, chiefly written by the firſt Noblemen and Gentlemen in the Kingdom. In two large volumes, with cuts, 1*l.* 10*s.*

The whole Proceedings on the Trial of an Information exhibited Ex Officio by the King's Attorney-General againſt John Stockdale, for a ſuppoſed Libel on the Houſe of Commons, tried in the Court of King's Bench, Weſtminſter, on Wedneſday, the 9th of December, 1789, before the Right Hon. Lloyd Lord Kenyon, Chief Juſtice of England; taken in ſhort-hand by Joſeph Gurney. To which is ſubjoined, an Argument in Support of the Rights of Juries; by the Hon. THOMAS ERSKINE. In one volume, royal, 5*s.*

The Hiſtory of New Holland, from its firſt diſcovery in 1616, to the preſent Time; with a particular Account of its Produce and its Inhabitants, and a Deſcription of Botany Bay: alſo a Liſt of the Naval, Marine, Military, and Civil Eſtabliſhment. To which is prefixed, an introductory Diſcourſe on Baniſhment; by the Right Hon. Lord AUCKLAND. Illuſtrated with a map of New Holland, a chart of Botany Bay, and a general chart from England to Botany Bay. In one volume, 6*s.*

The Hot-Houſe Gardener, or the general Culture of the Pine Apple, and Methods of forcing early Grapes, Peaches, Nectarines, and other choice Fruits, in Hot-Houſes, Vineries, Fruit-Houſes, Hot-Walls, &c. with Directions for raiſing Melons, and early Strawberries; by JOHN ABERCROMBIE. Illuſtrated with five copper-plates, repreſenting the pine apple, grapes, peaches, nectarines, cherries, melons, and ſtrawberries. One volume, royal, 6*s.*; or with the plates coloured, 8*s.* 6*d.*

Debates

Debates in Parliament from 1784 to 1792, inclusive, 21 volumes, half bound, 8*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

The Poetic of Ariſtotle, tranſlated from the Greek, by HENRY JAMES PYE, Eſq. In one ſmall volume, 4*s.*

Beauties of the Britiſh Senate; containing a Selection of the moſt remarkable Speeches from the Time of Sir Robert Walpole to the preſent. In two volumes, 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Conſtitution of the American States; with an Introduction; by the Rev. WILLIAM JACKSON. In one volume, 6*s.*

A Treatiſe on the Alliance of Muſic, Poetry, and Oratory; by ANSELM BAYLEY, LL. D. In one volume, 6*s.*

Conſiderations on the Commerce of America; by RICHARD CHAMPION, Eſq. One volume, 5*s.*

Sermons on important and intereſting Subjects; by the Rev. PERCIVAL STOCKDALE; with a Head of the Author. One vol. 6*s.*

Reſolves of the Glouceſterſhire Committee; by Sir CECIL WRAY, Bart. One volume, 4*s.*

Miſcellaneous Tracts, containing Poems, Letters, &c. by Dr. JOHNSON; being an additional volume to his Works, 6*s.*

An Indian Vocabulary. One ſmall volume, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hiſtory of the American Revolution, by Dr. RAMSAY. In two volumes, 12*s.* or on fine paper, 15*s.*

Hiſtory of the Revolution of South Carolina; by Dr. RAMSAY. In two volumes, with maps and plans, 12*s.*

Tracts on the Iriſh Rebellion, comprehending the Lord Chancellor's celebrated Speech, and the Reports of the Secret Committees of the Lords and Commons; by the Earl of CLARE and Lord Viſ. CASTLEREAGH. In one vol. with a map of Ireland, and a plan of Dublin, 7*s.*

The Trial of John and Henry Sheares, Eſqrs. for High Treaſon; by WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, Eſq. Barriſter at Law, 3*s.*

The Hiſtory of the Maroon War, with the Correſpondence between the Governor of Jamaica and General Walpole thereon; by BRYAN EDWARDS, Eſq. In one volume, with a portrait of Leonard Parkinſon, a Captain of Maroons, 5*s.*

Anecdotes of Frederic II. late King of Pruſſia, by B. H. LA TROBE. One volume, 6*s.*

The Hiſtory of Virginia; by THOMAS JEFFERSON, Vice Preſident of the United States of America. In one volume, with a large map, 7*s.*

The Hiſtory and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, with regard to the propoſed Regency. In one very large volume, 10*s.* 6*d.*

A Tour to Milford Haven, by Mrs. MORGAN. In one vol. 7*s.* 6*d.*

An Eſſay on the Cauſes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species. To which are added, Strictures on Lord Kaim's Diſcourſe on the original Diverſity of Mankind; by the Rev. SAMUEL STANHOPE SMITH, D. D. In one volume, 3*s.*

The Campaign, a Poem; by ROBERT BROWN. Dedicated by permiſſion to His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, ſewed, 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Supplement to complete and illuſtrate the Edition, in 3 vols. 8vo. of the Account of Earl Macartney's Embaſſy to China; conſiſting of 25 plates, with directions and references, price 5*s.*; or with the 3 volumes, 1*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

An Abridgement of the Voyage of Captains Portlock and Dixon, to the North-weſt Coaſt of America. In one volume, with plates, 6*s.*

Travels through the States of North America, and Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797; by ISAAC WELD, jun. Eſq. In two volumes, illuſtrated with ſixteen highly finiſhed plates, 1*l.* 1*s.*

The Conduct of Great Britain vindicated againſt the Calumnies of Foreign Enemies and Domeſtic Conſpirators, ſince the Æra of the Commencement of the preſent War with France; by CHARLES TWEEDIE, jun. Dedicated by permiſſion to Lord Minto. In one volume, 5*s.*

Obſervations on the Evidence given before the Committees of the Privy Council and Houſe of Commons, in ſupport of the Bill for aboliſhing the Slave Trade; by JOHN RANBY, Eſq. In one volume, 5*s.*

Thoughts on the preſent State of French Politics, and the Neceſſity and Policy of diminiſhing France, for her internal Peace, and to ſecure the Tranquility of Europe; by WILLIAM PLAYFAIR. To which is added, a Treatiſe on the Defence of England; by the late General LLOYD. Dedicated to General Clerk. In one volume, illuſtrated with a chart of the oppoſite Coaſts of France and England, Flanders, and part of Holland, and a map of France, ſhewing its former Boundaries, and the Subdiviſions which are neceſſary to be made in that Country, neatly coloured. One volume, 5*s.*

Travels into Upper and Lower Egypt, undertaken by order of the late King of France; by C. S. SONNINI, Engineer in the French Navy, and Member of ſeveral ſcientific and literary Societies; tranſlated from the French, by the Rev. Dr. HUNTER, with Notes. Dedicated to the Right Hon. William Pitt. In 3 vols. embelliſhed with 40 fine plates, price only 1*l.* 7*s.*

The Life of Thomas Day, Eſq. Author of the Hiſtory of Sandford and Merton, &c. &c.; by JAMES KEIR, Eſq. One vol. 2*s.* 6*d.*

DUODECIMO.

The Children's Friend; tranſlated from the French of BERQUIN. In ſix vols. with 36 plates, bound, 1*l.* 1*s.*

The

The History of Sandford and Merton; a work designed for the Use of Children; by THOMAS DAY, Esq. In three volumes, with frontispieces, bound, 10s. 6d.

The Children's Miscellany; including the History of Little Jack; by THOMAS DAY, Esq. In one volume, with a frontispiece, and 28 cuts, bound, 3s. 6d.

The Contrast; a Series of Letters on Education between the Relict of the late pious and Reverend Bishop of Cloyne and the Editor; by the Rev. Sir ADAM GORDON, Bart. Prebendary of Bristol, &c. In two vols. 6s.

An occasional Assistant to the most serious of Parochial Duties; or a Supplement to the established Order for the Visitation of the Sick; to which is added, A Collection of Prayers on several Occasions; by Sir ADAM GORDON, Bart. A. M. In one volume, bound, 3s. 6d.

The Characters of the Kings of England, with a concise History of the Kingdom; by JOHN HOLT. In one volume, with a frontispiece, bound, 3s. 6d.

Elements of Geography, containing a concise and comprehensive View of that useful Science, as divided into Astronomical, Physical, or Natural and Political Geography; on a new plan, adapted to the Capacities of Youth, and designed for the Use of Schools and Private Families; by JEDIDIAH MORSE, D. D. In one vol. with maps, bound, 3s. 6d.

A new Standard French and English Pronouncing Dictionary; by WILLIAM PERRY. In one volume, bound, 5s.

The Family Book, or Children's Journal, consisting of moral and entertaining Stories, with instructive Conversations on those Subjects which daily occur in nature and society. Translated from the French of Berquin, and interspersed with Poetical Pieces by the translator, Miss STOCKDALE. In one volume, with a frontispiece, bound, 3s. 6d.

The Adventures of Numa Pompilius, Second King of Rome; from the French of FLORIAN. In one volume, bound, 4s.

An Historical Account of the Embassy to the Emperor of China, undertaken by order of the King of Great Britain; including the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants; and preceded by an Account of the Causes of the Embassy and Voyage to China. Abridged principally from the Papers of Earl MACARTNEY, as compiled By Sir GEORGE STAUNTON, Bart. Secretary of Embassy to the Emperor of China, and Minister Plenipotentiary in the absence of the Embassador. In one volume, with two plates, 3s. 6d.

The Universal Gardener's Calendar, and System of Practical Gardening, displaying the completest general Directions for performing all the various practical Works and Operations necessary in every Month of the Year, agreeable to the present most improved successful Method; with a comprehensive Display of the general System of Gardening in all its different Branches; comprehending the Kitchen Garden, Fruit Garden, Pleasure Ground, Flower Garden, Shrubbery, Plantations and Nursery, Green House, Hot House, and Forcing Houses, &c.; by JOHN ABERCROMBIE. Bound, 5s.

The Complete Kitchen Gardener, and Hot bed Forcer; with the thorough practical Management of Hot Houses, Fire Walls, and Forcing Houses, and the improved modern Culture of the Pinery Stoves and Pine Apples, being a thorough practical Display of these most capital Branches of Gardening in their general Culture, and agreeable to the present greatly improved modern Process, whereby that most importantly useful District the Kitchen Garden, and all its Appurtenances of Hot Beds, Hot Houses, Hot Walls, Forcing Houses, Pinery Stoves, &c. and the Culture of their several various Productions in superior Perfection and greatest Abundance, are fully explained, in a Manner never before done, for general Instruction, as requiring a particular distinct Explanation, and now first completely accomplished, from the Result of above Forty Years daily practical Experience and Observation; by JOHN ABERCROMBIE. One volume, bound, 5s.

The Garden Vade-Mecum, or Compendium of General Gardening, &c. by JOHN ABERCROMBIE, with a frontispiece. One volume, bound, 4s.

The Vision of Columbus, a Poem; by JOEL BARLOW, Esq. One volume, 2s. 6d.

The Spectre, a novel; by HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. In two volumes, with a frontispiece, 6s.

The History of Little Grandison; by M. BERQUIN. Half-bound, with a frontispiece, 1s. 6d.

The History of Little Jack (who was found by accident and nursed by a goat); by THOMAS DAY, Esq. With 23 beautiful cuts, bound, 1s.

The History of a School Boy; in which is also included—Courage inspired by Friendship; the Duel, or Man of true Courage; interesting Anecdotes; and an Epistle to a Friend, on his return from the Army. Bound, 1s.

Affectionate Advice from a Minister of the Established Church to his Parishioners, upon the most plain and positive Duties of Religion; with some Cautions against the prevailing Spirit of Innovation; by the Rev. Sir ADAM GORDON, Bart. M. A. 1s.

A Sketch of Universal History; to which is added, a brief Chronology of the most remarkable Events in the History of England. Embellished with 36 Heads of the Kings, from Egbert to George III. inclusive, 1s. 6d.

The History of the Three Brothers; to which are added, Gray's Elegy in a Country Church Yard; Pope's Universal Prayer; and the History of John Gilpin. Embellished with five cuts, 6d.

The Children's Friend, translated from the French of Mr. BERQUIN. In four volumes, with frontispieces, bound, 10s.

L'Ami des Enfans, par M. BERQUIN. In four volumes, bound, 14s. or with 44 plates, 16s.

Select Stories, for the Instruction and Entertainment of Children; by M. BERQUIN. Inscribed to Mr. Raikes. In one volume, containing 300 pages of letter-press, and illustrated with four plates, bound, 3s.

Sandford

Sandford et Merton, traduction libre de l'Anglois, de THOMAS DAY; par M. Berquin. Embellis de frontiſpieces. In two vols. bound, 7*s.*

The New Robinſon Cruſoe; an inſtructive and entertaining Hiſtory for the Uſe of Children of both Sexes. Tranſlated from the French. Embelliſhed with 32 beautiful cuts, each cut the ſize of the page. In two volumes, bound, 7*s.*

The ſame work complete, in a ſmall letter, in one volume, bound, 4*s.*

The ſame work abridged. Bound, 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Honeſt Farmer, &c. by M. BERQUIN, with a frontiſpiece, half-bound, 1*s.* 6*d.*

A New Year's Gift from a Miniſter to his Pariſhioners; being a Collection of Tracts upon the neceſſity and benefit of receiving the Lord's Supper; wherein a variety of Arguments and Exhortations are employed in ſeveral different Forms, to recommend a compliance with this moſt eſſential Chriſtian Duty; by the Rev. Sir ADAM GORDON, Bart. In one volume, 1*s.* 6*d.*

A Sketch of the Lives and Writings of Dante and Petrarch; with ſome Account of Italian and Latin Literature in the Fourteenth Century; by a Young Gentleman of Oxford. One volume, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Johnſon's Engliſh Dictionary in Miniature; by the Rev. JOSEPH HAMILTON. In one pocket volume, with a portrait of Dr. Johnſon, bound, 3*s.* 6*d.*

A Deſcription of Hawkſtone, the Seat of Sir Richard Hill, Bart. by T. RODENHURST. In one ſmall volume, 1*s.* 6*d.*

A ſpeculative Picture of Europe, tranſlated from the French of General Dumouriez; by JOHN JOSEPH STOCKDALE, Junior. In one volume, with a chart of Great Britain and Ireland, and the ſurrounding coaſts, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Select Portions of the New Verſion of the Pſalms, adapted to every Sunday throughout the Year; with proper Pſalms for the principal Feſtivals and Faſts, &c. For the uſe of Pariſh Churches. The words ſelected by the Rev. Sir ADAM GORDON, Bart. A. M. Prebendary of Briſtol, and Rector of Weſt Tilbury. In one volume, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Lindor and Adelaid, a Moral Tale, in which are exhibited the effects of the late French Revolution on the Peaſantry of France. In one volume, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Fables Ancient and Modern after the manner of LA FONTAINE; by WILLIAM WALBECK. In one volume, bound, 4*s.*

Intereſting Views concerning Chriſtianity, tranſlated from the French of BONNET. In one vol. 3*s.*

The Ring, a Novel. In three volumes, 10*s.* 6*d.*

Eden Vale, a Novel; by Mrs. CATHERINE PARRY. In 2 vols 6*s.*

The Hiſtory of Chriſtina, Princeſs of Swabia, and of Eloiſa de Livarot; tranſlated from the French of Madame RICCOBONI. In two volumes, 5*s.*

Captain Cook's third and laſt Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, in 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. Abridged from the quarto edition, publiſhed by order of His Majeſty. In one volume, with eight plates, bound, 4*s.*

Mr. STOCKDALE begs leave to inform the Public, that, having purchaſed the remaining Copies of Grose's Antiquities of England and Wales, in 8 vols. medium quarto, and alſo in imperial 8vo. containing 699 plates, they may be ſupplied by ſending their orders accordingly. The plates are now, firſt, uniformly printed on fine, thick, wove paper, which renders the impreſſions on ſale, by him, ſuperior to the former proofs. Price in 4to. 17*l.* 10*s.* 8vo. 15*l.* 10*s.*

Of the Imperial Octavo Edition, but very few remain unſold.

A great Deduction to Merchants, Traders, &c. for Ready Money.

He has alſo purchaſed the few remaining Copies of Dr. Anderſon's Britiſh Poets (Thirteen large vols. royal octavo) of the aſſignees of Eglin and Pepys, bankrupts; and propoſes to ſell them, for a limited time, at the reduced price of ſix guineas in boards, inſtead of eight guineas, which was the original price; or elegantly calf-gilt for eight guineas.——For the high character of this work, ſee the Britiſh Critic and Monthly Reviews.

N. B. A deduction of 20 per Cent. will be made to thoſe buying for Sale, or Preſents: to whom, on Payment being ordered in London, the Books ſhall be ſent as deſired.—The Diſcount reduces the Price to 5*l.*; or calf, gilt, 7*l.*

Piccadilly, January 1800.

The following Valuable Works are, or will ſpeedily be, publiſhed by John Stockdale.

Hiſtory of the Helvetic Confederacy, from its Origin to its late Diſſolution. By JOSEPH PLANTA, Sec. R. S. and principal librarian at the Britiſh Muſeum. Dedicated, by permiſſion, to His Majeſty. Elegantly printed on ſuperfine wove paper, and hot-preſſed. In 2 vols. 4to. illuſtrated with a map of Switzerland, &c. Price 2*l.* 2*s.*

A Third Volume of the Hiſtory, Civil and Commercial, of the Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies. By BRYAN EDWARDS, Eſq. F.R.S. &c. 4to. illuſtrated with a portrait of the author, and other plates.

Odes of Anacreon. Tranſlated into Engliſh verſe, with notes. By THOMAS MOORE, Eſq. of the Middle Temple. Elegantly printed on fine wove paper, and hot-preſſed. In 1 vol. 4to. illuſtrated with plates. Price 1*l.* 1*s.*

Journal of a Route to Nagpore, by the way of Cuttac, Burroſumber, Dongur Ghur, and the Southern Bunjare Ghaut, in the year 1790; with an account of Nagpore, and a Journal from that place to Benares by the Soohagee Paſs. By DANIEL ROBINSON LEECH, Eſq. In 4to. illuſtrated with a map. Price 7*s.*

History

History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies. By Bryan Edwards, Esq. Dedicated, by permission, to His Majesty. In three large volumes, 8vo. illustrated with plates.

Travels through the States of North America and Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, in the years 1795, 6, and 7. By Isaac Weld, jun. Esq. Third edition, in two large volumes, 8vo. illustrated with 16 highly-finished plates, neatly printed on superfine wove paper. Price 1*l.* 1*s.*

Life of Catherine II. Empress of Russia. By J. Castera. Translated from the last French edition, by Henry Hunter, D.D. In one large volume, 8vo. illustrated with 14 plates. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*; or on fine paper, with proof plates, 13*s.* 6*d.*

School for Children. Translated from the French. By Miss Stockdale. In one vol. 12mo. Price 3*s.* 6*d.* bound.

Statistical Tables; exhibiting a View of all the States of Europe, with their Coins, Weights, and Measures. Translated from the German of J. G. Boettticher, of Koenigsberg. In 4to. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

A Geographical, Historical, and Political Account of Germany, Holland, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the Grisons, and Italy. With a Gazetteer of the principal Places therein. In one large volume, royal 4to. handsomely printed on superfine wove paper. Illustrated with twenty-four plans of Fortified Cities, and a large three-sheet map of the Countries described, 4-feet 6-inches by 2-feet 9-inches. Price 2*l.* 2*s.*

History of Liverpool, with an Account of the River Mersey, &c. Dedicated, by permission, to the Earl of Liverpool. In one volume, royal 4to. on fine wove paper. Embellished and illustrated with maps, plans, and views. Price to Subscribers, 2*l.* 2*s.*

A New and Elegant Translation of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments.

Journal of a Voyage, performed in the Lion extra Indiaman, from Madras to Columbo and Da Lagoa Bay, on the Eastern Coast of Africa, where the ship was condemned; in the years 1798 and 1799. With some account of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of Da Lagoa Bay, and a Vocabulary of their Language. By William White, Esq. Captain of the 73d Highland regiment of foot. Neatly printed in 4to. with two highly-finished plates, from drawings taken on the spot. Price 7*s.* in boards.

A new History of Russia. Translated from the French. With several plates, and a large map of Russia.

History of the Life and Sketch of the Campaigns of General Neapolone Buonaparte. Translated from the French. Together with a large Map of Germany and Italy, shewing the Routes of the Armies, Encampments, and Fields of Battle, &c. accurately delineated by Bacler Dalbe, captain of Cannoniers attached to the army of Buonaparte during the war, in the capacity of Chief of his Topographical Office. And further illustrated with Maps of Egypt and Syria. In 4to. Price 1*l.* 1*s.*

Lives of the British Poets, in one large volume, 8vo. with plates. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* in boards; or on fine paper, with proof impressions, 13*s.* 6*d.*

Voyage to the East Indies and China, made by order of the King, from 1774 to 1781. In which are described the Manners, Religions, Arts and Sciences of the Indians, Chinese, and Natives of Pegu and Madagascar: With Observations on the Cape of Good Hope, Isles of France and Bourbon, the Maldives, Ceylon, Malacca, the Philippines, and Moluccas; with Researches into the Natural History of those Countries. Translated from the French of M. Sonnerat. In two volumes, 4to. illustrated and embellished with One Hundred and Forty Plates of Views, Natural History, Mythology, &c.

†‡† Gentlemen desirous of the above valuable Work, are requested to favour Mr. *Stockdale* with early Orders.

Maps and Plans published by John Stockdale.

A new Map of England and Wales, with the Southern Part of Scotland; on which are accurately laid down the Turnpike Roads, and principal Towns, Parks, Rivers, and Canals. On 40 plates, 5-feet 10-inches by 4-feet 8-inches, neatly coloured, in sheets, 1*l.* 1*s.*; or on canvas and rollers, or in a case, 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*——The great advantages of this Map are, that by being on so large a scale, with the Roads, Rivers, and principal Towns, unencumbered by places of less consequence, the eye can easily trace any object, without injuring the sight, or confusing the observer.

A large Plan of London, comprehending the West India new Docks and surrounding Villages. On four sheets, 4-feet 8-inches by 2-feet 3-inches. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*; or on canvas and rollers, or in a case, 15*s.*

A large Map of the Country from Twenty to Thirty Miles round London; comprehending all the Turnpike and Cross Roads, Parks, Rivers, Canals, &c. On four sheets, price, neatly coloured, 7*s.* 6*d.*; or on rollers, or in a case 13*s.* 6*d.*

A new large Plan of Manchester, from actual Survey; by C. Laurent. Price, in sheets, 1*l.* 1*s.*

A new large Map of the Country from 30 to 40 Miles round Manchester. Price, neatly coloured, 10*s.* 6*d.*

A large Map of the West Indies, engraved for the History of the British Colonies by Bryan Edwards, Esq. On two large sheets, 5*s.*; or in an elegant gilt frame, coloured and varnished, 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

A new Sheet Map of the Island of Jamaica, 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Map of the River Thames, from its Source to its Influx. Neatly coloured, 2*s.* 6*d.*

A general Map of the Empire of Germany, Holland, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the Grisons, and the Northern Part of Italy; by Captain Chanchard, Military Engineer to the Count D'Artois. On sixteen large sheets, 9-feet by 3. Price to Subscribers, only 3*l.* 3*s.* or to Non-subscribers, 5*l.* 5*s.*

N.B. In consequence of the Royal, Noble, and very liberal Patronage already received, the Publisher has resolved to give, to the Subscribers only, without any additional charge, neatly printed in quarto, a Geographical Account of the Countries described on the above Map, illustrated with a large three-sheet Map and 24 Plans of the principal fortified Cities. A List of the Subscribers will be printed. To Non-subscribers price 2*l.* 2*s.*

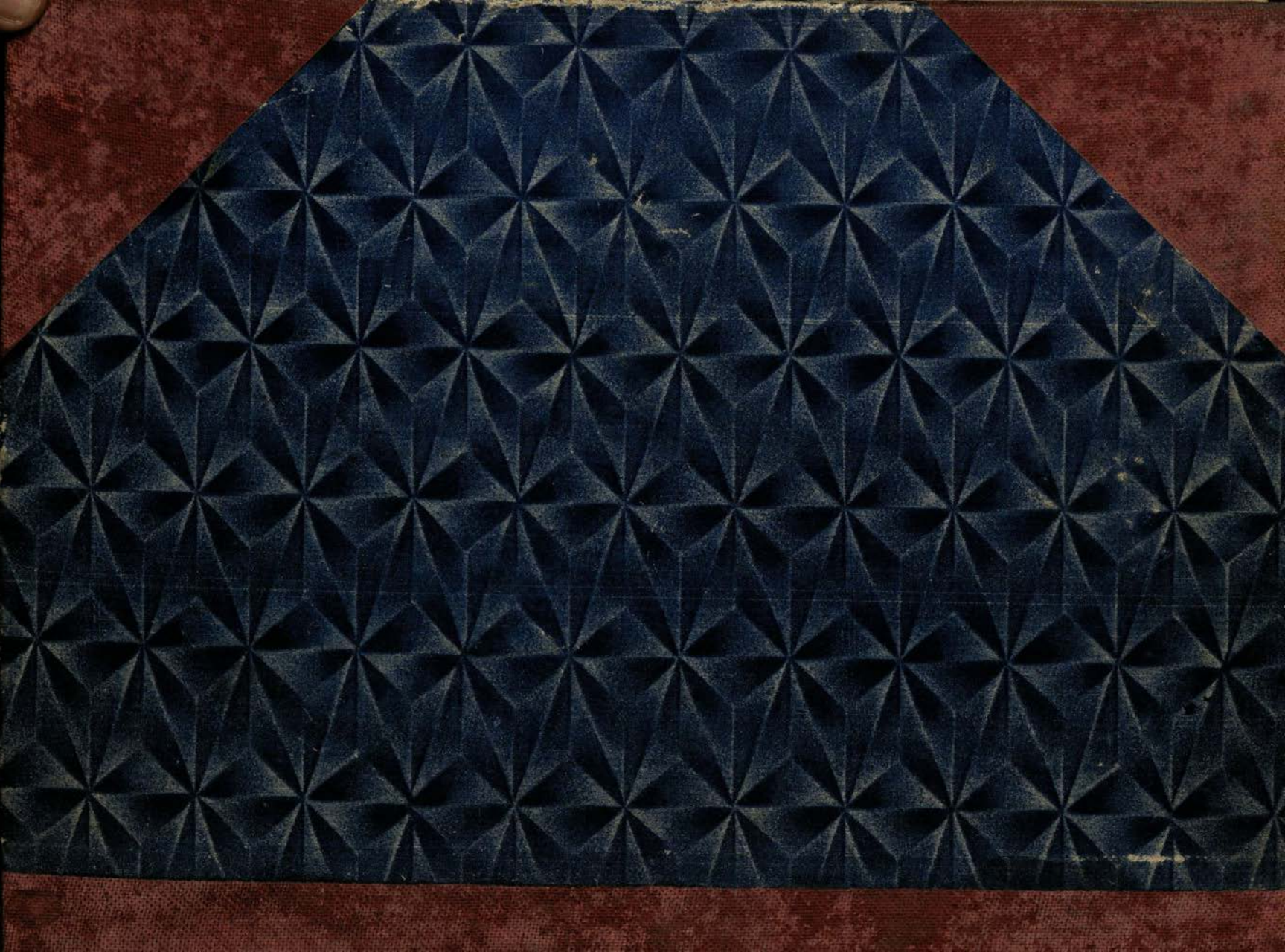
Luke Hansard, Printer;
Great Turnstile, Lincoln's-Inn Fields.

00036940

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 28 December, 2018